THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION VOLUME 2, NUMBER 2 Fourteenth Issue JULY 1991

FREE (subscription demanded)

WORKS IN PROGRESS

"The end in view is well worth striving for, but in the struggle lies the happiness of the fighter." American Wobbly A.S. Embree

Dan Leahy

Free Trade: Free Lunch For Corporations

Report From Vancouver: There's no such thing as Free Trade, but they *are* going to eat our lunch!

A few weeks ago, I saw in the Seattle PI that Canadian firms were moving to Bellingham for cheap labor and tax breaks.

What?

Now, I believe that "King" George Weyerhaeuser and his Washington Roundtable are turning our state into a "Third World" country, but I hadn't yet thought of the US, let alone Bellingham, as a source of cheap, non-union labor for foreign capital. I was only looking at the export of raw logs and food stuffs, the foreign ownership of downtown Seattle real estate, the creation of a super rich, an impoverished middle class and a civil war with the poor as indicators of our new status.

This new search for cheap labor in the US is apparently part of the "free trade" agreements and the subject of continuing talks between the US, Canada and Mexico.

"Free Trade" finally got my attention. When I noticed a late May conference on Canada-U.S.-Mexico "Free" Trade sponsored by the Action Canada Network in Vancouver, B.C. and entitled "Cooperation not Competition," I took the opportunity to cross the border and learn some things.

Besides it's always refreshing for me to go to Vancouver. Diverse political thought is tolerated and informed discussion is still practiced there. Workers who are union members provide leadership in debate about major policy issues. And, for a person like me who spends most of his time in Olympia or at Evergreen, it is a real treat to be in a multi-racial culture.

The conference started off Friday night with a panel discussion that was worth the trip North. After two years of actual experience with the US-Canada "free trade agreement (FTA)," these Canadians were dead serious.

"Competition for poverty" was what Tony Clarke of the Action Canada Network called "free trade." To Clarke, who spoke first, this means the US, Canadian and Mexican governments compete to see who can deliver the lowest wage workers for continental capital. The country with the lowest wage would set the standard of living for all three. Canadian firms have in fact been moving just across the U.S. border for cheaper labor and lower corporate tax bites.

Tony's remarks made me think of all the corporate rhetoric here at home demanding that Washington's workers be more "competitive." I thought of all the wage concessions we took during the mid to late 1980s. It also got me thinking about "who sets the standards" - union or non-union. Just as the International Carpenters union (UBC) is reminding its members that it should be a cooperative "community of carpenters" who set wage standards and not the contractor's non union workforce, the Canadian folks are saying we need to raise the lowest paid Mexican worker up to our standards.

Security of supply was what Jim Sinclair from the Fishermen's union (UFAWU) wanted us to think about. He was talking about Canadian natural resources. If workers, by exercising political power through a government entity can gain, at least partially, the security of supply, then they can process the resource and distribute some of that value added back to the people through its government. This process, said Jim, is what creates communities and allows government to tax for social policies like public education and public health.

With corporate "free trade", there will be no security of supply, no guarantee where the resource will be processed and therefore more difficult to create economically viable communities. Remind you of anywhere? You can drive through a preview of corporate "free trade" by heading southwest out of Olympia. When state and county governments allowed Weyerhaeuser to stop processing our natural resources and use its log export profits to colonize Seattle for the rich, wage rates in SW Washington plummeted, local governments pleaded poverty and workers were retrained to do menial service jobs for minimum wage.

The discussion that got me the most, however, was the loss of the "nation state." These Canadians believe that if the FTA is not rescinded, but in fact expanded to Mexico, Canada as a nation state will not last the decade. They mean it literally.

To these Canadians, "free trade" is de-nationalization. To them, it means replacing an east-west identify, the Canadian nation-state, which is tied together by government, with north-south, continental capital flows which are tied together by transnational corporations (TNCs) under supra-national free trade agreements.

De-nationalization means losing their mixed economy and public enterprises, such as their public health care and public education systems. As one speaker said, these new capital accords will tolerate no "alternative project" on the continent and Canada is an alternative. If there was no Canadian health care system, what could we point to as an alternative to the highly profitable "sickness" industry we live in fear of.

As I was driving back home, I keep thinking "they're giving up the nation-state, they're giving up the nation-state."

Labor and capital, here at home, fought over what the nation state would do for each. After WWII, American workers won a modest compromise with American capital and got the liberal social welfare state and formal recognition of their unions. The price, of course, was continued domination of the world economy by American based corporations.

That's changed as we all know. American corporations don't dominate anymore, the liberal social welfare state is in disarray and non-union labor is setting the standards for workers' wages and living con-

(Continued back page)

"Competition for poverty" was what Tony Clarke of the Action Canada Network called "free trade." . . . this means the US, Canadian and Mexican governments compete to see who can deliver the lowest wage workers for continental capital.

Thurston County Rainbow Coalition Page 5

Public Funds For Union Busting Page 7

Interview With Frank Wilkinson Pages 8,9

Dave Jette And Ron Jacobs Pages 10,11

Media Ignores Workers' Issues Page 12

Mary Rose Addresses TESC Graduates Pages 13

Boycott Monthly& Matt Love Page 14

Retrospect On Anti-War Movement Page 15

Letters

A Hand To Hold

Spiderwebs glistened in the forest
like jewels from The Arabian Nights,
at the Lake Quinault Resort Motel
on Martin Luther King Day.
The bombs were raining in the desert,
the New World Order had begun--
they were burning our flags
and we were burning their children.
You and I made love, not war,
at the Lake Quinault Resort Motel
on Martin Luther King Day.
And I thought about John Lennon
singing All You Need Is Love,
and I thought about the bullet in his brain,
and I knew that I know nothing,
and I held you as you slept,
and I sang it anyway.

Craig Oare

July 19 8-10 pm
Smithfield Cafe
4th Ave, Olympia
Music, slides, poetry, food & drink
Commemorate the Nicaraguan & Cuban Revolutions
For more info call OMJP Office 357-8346

Aug. Issue Submission Deadline-
July 17 -

Simple Demagoguery

The following letter was edited due to space considerations.

Dear Mr. Freeman,

As we change from a supposed "monoculture", which you refer to in your article by the codeword "dominant culture", to a more diversified culture, stresses will be inevitable. The question becomes how to achieve a truly diversified culture *while keeping in mind the historic and continuing power of the dominant culture.*

You repeatedly characterize the attacks on multiculturalism as "right-wing" and various other loaded phrases. I don't know the backgrounds of most of those you mention, but I doubt that dismissing all disagreements with Multicultural Education (ME) as "right wing" is accurate, and it is certainly intellectual dishonesty. *Ad hominem* arguments are ALWAYS invalid. You refuse to discuss the merits of arguments against ME; you dismiss them *prima facie* as racist, a smear tactic which you evidently find very emotionally satisfying. I have no doubt that the modern Right will attack ME, and I have no doubt that they will have their own objections. I also have no doubt that the modern Left, including quite a few of the professors who support ME, have their own agenda for ME, also quite separate from the stated reasons for supporting it. Any human being who takes a position on an issue is likely to have a number of different reasons for doing so, ranging from the purely intellectual to the purely emotional. To point a finger at the opposition and say they are doing this, while ignoring the same thing on one's own side, is the crassest kind of manipulative demagoguery.

I've been reading history a long time and its not obvious to me at all that we can just trash "the bulk" of the stuff written for the last 400 years as all those bad adjectives. Nor is it obvious to me that it should be trashed even if that's the case. That last assumption is a particularly anti-intellectual and elitist one. It disturbs me more than anything else in your article, because it harmonizes so closely with things I've heard a lot overseas - always from apologists for obnoxious and tyrannical regimes, ranging from Danny Ortega's bloody-handed revolutionaries to Afrikaaners who literally had nothing in their frame of reference that wasn't concerned with racism. Right or left, they seemed to share an anxious concern to eliminate things which did not fit their personal idea of political correctness.

I doubt that dismissing all disagreements with Multicultural Education (ME) as "right wing" is accurate, and it is certainly intellectual dishonesty.

"It is an absolute fact that standard, traditional American History has been written by the 'winners' in society."

Either you are asserting that the only thing we read or see in the education system is stuff created by these winners, or you are cheating by limiting the "stuff" in some way to a narrow category that fits your assertion. All through school, I was given things that talked about issues from multiple points of view. It's crucial to remember that democracy depends on active participants. If history books don't bring the different points of view out (and they did for me) then the newspapers and public positions of parties and individuals certainly did.

Interesting too that you seem to assert that the Constitution was created solely as an elitist response to Shay's Rebellion. Again, an assertion with no evidence. What's worse, anyone with even a modicum of knowledge about U.S. history knows that's nonsense.

Factual problems too. None of the sources I used [in a TESC Individual Learning Contract] indicated an initial population of North America greater than 6 - 8 million. The truth is we don't know, cannot ever know, nor can we even make a very good estimate, because the native Americans didn't keep records, didn't think that way anyway, and the whites never cared enough to count the people they were killing, much less the ones they didn't have in their gunsights. Not only are your numbers suspect, but then go back to rank assertion: "The only explanation for this is purposeful genocide by our dominant culture." That is sheer fantasy, unless you can produce some solid evidence. History in other areas suggests a more accurate theory: disease and change. The point is, there were an immense array of factors leading to the drastic decreases in native American population, none of which lend themselves well to a conspiracy theory. To assert that a 300-year organized plan of purposeful genocide was responsible is nonsense. It's even more ridiculous when it's made without a shred of evidence. Never assume a conspiracy when stupidity and/or greed are adequate to explain the circumstances.

You assert that this racist American history we're trying to correct with ME does nasty things like making much of the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis, but refuses to acknowledge the gays, gypsies and other groups who were also assaulted. Apart from the fact that the tone of your comments sound anti-semitic, I don't know where you went to high school. I learned all of this in my first world history class. You yourself left out an interesting major group: political opponents of the regime.

I would suggest to you that the purpose of education at all levels is not to be value free; at least in public education however, it should guarantee the tolerance of many values. I can remember quite well the tumult of university life in the late sixties. Let me assure you, there was zero tolerance for anyone who did not toe the line about Vietnam. I was physically assaulted (we're talking baseball bats and knives here, not a shoving match) three times during those years because I didn't agree with the party line (and no, I wasn't a supporter of the administration either, but my position wasn't "politically correct" enough). I do see an awful lot of the same people I saw behind those baseball bats teaching at school today, and no, I don't have a lot of respect for their commitment to free speech and liberty, which still has nothing to do with the value of ME.

Interestingly enough, one of the reasons we need ME is to insure that minority values and opinions are presented in school, yet the system which has been so blatantly attempting to suppress them, you credit with educating minorities in the last twenty years through scholarships and loans provided by the government. This somewhat weakens the massive conspiracy theory. There's more, but I think you get the idea. Your article is simply demagoguery.

I think you could have a stronger position and a better intellectual defense of ME courses than you do. This article does justice neither to the importance of cross-cultural education, the intrinsic value of such coursework, not to the inherent - in fact the only - strength of a democracy: the ability of its members to choose for *themselves* the best course of those available.

Make ME available to students. Only an arrogant elite feels the need to force it down their throats. Develop some trust in the people.

Larry A. Frost

BLUE HERON BAKERY
Featuring: Whole Grain Breads, Sweets, Granola, and Tamari Nuts
Naturally Sweetened-Specialty Orders
4935 Mud Bay Road West
866-2253

WIP EDITORIAL BOARD

Dave Campbell, Pat Holm, Matt Love, Evelyn Montague, Marie Smith, Lon Freeman, Tom Freeman, Kendra Jennings, Teresa Jennings, Chris Russo, Sylvia Smith, Pat Tassoni, Al Zimmerman, Dave Jette, Cat Kenney

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the WIP Editorial Board.

Keep those letters and cards coming. Correspondence and articles are always welcome. WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions; so for editting purposes please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works in Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

In The Works . . .

I have been told this is probably the only place in this July issue that will mention the 4th of July. No words of patriotism, of "purple mountains majesty", of blind allegience or any flag waving. What's wrong with us, are we anti-Fourth of July? Well, I don't think so. Would we join an invading force attacking our shores? Yuck...no.

Please try to consider that maybe, just maybe we don't want to be sucked into what the Democrats have stepped in. They have wasted *so much* time trying prove their patriotism to Republicans. We don't have enough money to do that sort of stuff. Besides, it's all a little gaggy, don't you think?

In a number of articles written concerning labor, the privatization of the US Postal Service and the effect on postal workers is explored by Keith Mau, member of Local #351 (page 6). We received in the mail from Seattle an article by Karen Keiser describing how Vanalco Aluminum Company was able to use state funds for union busting (page 13). Ron Jacobs continues the discussion of Dan Leahy's front page article on Free Trade (page 11).

In the center spread this issue we have an interview by Tom Freeman of Frank Wilkinson who has spent a lifetime battling illegal surveillance by the FBI (Hi, guys!) and other governmental covert agencies. Jackie Wolf discusses War Art now that the bombing has stopped and we are beginning to find out what happened (page 15) and Dave Jette reviews a new book by African-American theologian Cornel West, *The Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought* (page 10).

Sometimes I think citizens of this country forget that there are outside folks watching us. Take the following comment of Canadian Elaine Bernard writing for **New Directions:**

"The truckers that Greg now works with are all Vietnam vets. They're working class lads, though they would no doubt call themselves "middle class." They were drafted and they went to Vietnam. They think that protesting the war in the Gulf, or indeed, any war conducted by the US is "unAmerican." A friend tells me that the concept of "un-American" is utterly unique to the US. I think he's right. It's hard to imagine "unCanadian," though if certain red-necks have their way, we might eventually be saddled with this nonsense."

Sylvia Smith , WIP BOARD

Delegate Selection Rules Altered For '92

The 1992 delegate selection rules were adopted by the State Central Committee on April 27, 1991. Despite the Presidential Preference Primary, which is now scheduled for May 26, 1992, the delegate selection process will be much the same as it was in past years.

Changes from 1988 include the following:

1. Our National Convention delegates will be allocated among the Presidential candidates based on the votes cast in the Primary election rather than based on the delegates to the congressional district caucuses.
2. Precinct caucuses will convene at 8:00 pm with no early sign-in period as in 1988.
3. The State Convention committees (Platform, Rules, and Credentials) will be formed in January, 1992, with one member elected by each legislative district organization. In Past years the members have been elected by the State Convention delegates from each district in late April. This change will allow the platform and rules committees to meet earlier in the year.

Most other aspects of the process remain the same as past years. Delegates will be allocated to Presidential candidates at the precinct and legislative district or county levels based upon the preferences of those in attendance. Congressional district caucuses will elect 46 National Convention delegates, but those delegates will be allocated based on the Primary vote in the congressional district. Those 46 delegates will elect 16 at-large and 9 party and elected official delegates, which will be allocated among the Presidential candidates based on the statewide Primary vote.

Anyone wishing to be a National Convention delegate must file a statement of candidacy and pledge of support for a Presidential candidate between April 1, 1992, and May 11, 1992.

Timeline for 1992:

Tuesday, March 3, 1992 Precinct caucuses
Saturday, April 18, 1992 County conventions
Saturday, April 25, 1992 Legislative district caucuses
April 1 - May 11, 1992 National delegate statement of candidacy must be filed
Tuesday, May 26, 1992 Presidential Preference Primary
Saturday, May 30, 1992 Congressional district caucuses
Saturday, June 6, 1992 State Convention - Silverdale

Thank You, Thank You, Thank You!!

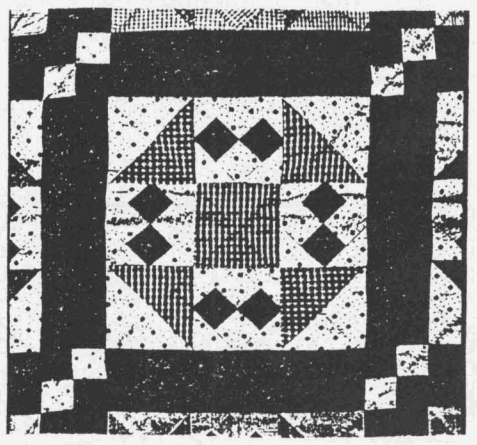
The following is a list of places where Works in Progress can be picked up each month. Be sure to thank them for allowing us to distribute there. If there are other places where we should distribute, call Tom at 943-1810.

Frontier Grocery, South End Grocery, Black Lake Grocery, Shoprite, Southgate Drug, Southgate Laundry, J-Vee's, Duds Laundry, Stop-in Grocery, Mason Jar, Elyse's Potpourri, Century Laundry, B. Dalton Booksellers, Disc Jockey , Cork and Crock, Capitol News, Whiskers, **Grainery**, Mud Bay Pottery, **Blue Heron Bakery**, The Place, O'Sullivan's Grocery, TESC, Village Mart, Handy-Pantry, Eddy's Grocery, **Olympia Food Co-op**, JackPot, OPAS, Asterisk, Rainy Day Records, Dirty Daves Westside, Washtub, Day & Nite Grocery, **Smithfield**, SPEECh, IT Bus Station, Ben Moore's, Columbia Street Pub, Positively 4th Street, Minh's Grocery, Dancing Goats, **Thousand Cranes Futons**, Olympia Community Center, Yardbirds, **Browsers' Booksellers, Counterpoint Books**, Eastside Club, Iron Skillet Restaurant, San Francisco Bakery, **Imprints Bookstore** in Tacoma, At Home with Books, **Jo Mama's**, APEX, Eastside Laundry, Maytag Laundry, Frog Pond, Union Mills Grocery, Buddies Grocery and Deli, The U.S. Post Office - Main

And as always, support our advertisers. Our advertisers, afterall, support us, and are listed in bold.

Where Has Patchworks Gone?

For the past year, I have written a monthly column for WIP. It has been challenging, engaging, and - most importantly - it has been fun. However, I have decided to forgo my



column for the foreseeable future. Instead, page five will be dedicated to information from and about the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition (it is our newspaper, afterall). As a TCRC co-coordinator, my writings will still grace this page, and will focus on Rainbow issues.

-Tom Freeman

Pizza Time

Fast & Free Delivery

Hours: Mon-Thurs. 11 am-Mid
Fre-Sat 11am-1am
Sun 11am-Mid

112 N. Jefferson Olympia

Serving Olympia * Free delivery includes Evergreen

956-9020

"SINGLE"
One Large One-Topping Pizza
for only
$6.99 Plus Tax
Additional Toppings $1.00
PIZZA TIME 112 N. Jefferson
956-9020
Offer Expires 7-31-91
Not valid with any other offer

"NEW"
Two Medium Pizzas
With cheese and 3 toppings
for only
$9.99 Plus Tax
Additional Toppings $1.00
PIZZA TIME 112 N. Jefferson
956-9020
Offer Expires 7-31-91
Not valid with any other offer

Keep W.I.P Alive: Subscribe and help us continue.

- ❑ "I read WIP" donation - $5 / $10
- ❑ Supporting donation - $15 / $20
- ❑ Supporting subscription - $25
- ❑ An Olympian matching donation
- ❑ Save postage , I'll pick it up around town.

Name: _____
Address: _____
City: _____
State: __ Zip: _____

Works In Progress, c/o TCRC, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507

PC Horror on Display

Alexander Cockburn

The war over "political correctness" is entering a surreal phase with the commotion over "The West As America" exhibition at the National museum of American Art, part of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

Two weeks after President Bush elevated PC to the very forefront of national concern by attacking it during a commencement speech at the University of Michigan, Senator Ted Stevens (R-AK) worked himself into a fine froth about the PC horror, as deployed by the Smithsonian. "To see that exhibit," he shouted at Smithsonian Secretary Robert McArthur Adams during a hearing of the Appropriations Committee, "I'll tell you, that really set me off. ...Why should people come up to your institution and see history that's so perverted?"

It turned out that at that point Stevens hadn't actually seen the exhibition and was basing his fury on a remark by former Librarian of congress Daniel Boorstin, who wrote in the comments book available to visitors, "a perverse, historically inaccurate, destructive exhibition."His outburst has already frightened cities such as Denver into canceling a traveling version of the exhibition.

As it happens, I visited the infamous exhibition three weeks ago. Billed as a re-interpretation of images of the frontier, 1820-1920, it was a fairly decorous attempt to gloss the paintings and photographs of Bierstadt, Remington, Moran, Jackson and others with commentary derived from the historical and moral concerns that got such a useful shove forward in the radical '60s.

Slabs of prose mounted next to the images invited visitors to conceived of a march to the West more compromised than the art suggested. Some of this commentary even was made so bold as to suggest that the opening of the West involved the destruction of native peoples and that painters and photographers had been complicit in such destruction.

Some of this commentary was a mite preachy, in the PC manner: The term "politically correct," after all, got its start among the left as a joke on those who took commitment to the far edge of self-righteousness. Some of the commentary was also over-heated. Irving Cause's The Captive (imported from the Washington exhibition from Irvine), a depiction of 17-year-old Lorinda Bewly pent in the tepee of Cayuse Chief five Crows, "unconsciously"-so the commentary informed me-" expresses his [Cause's] culture's fears of miscegenation. This is evident first in the network of intimations that thinly repress an actual sexual encounter."

To my eye, the picture showed a Cayuse Indian cross-legged and dourly observing Ms. Bewly. He could just as well have been waiting for her to awake so they could have an uplifting discourse about multiculturalism. "Against the logic of the narrative," the commentary continued relentlessly, "Bewly's figure is oriented more to the picture plane than to her Indian captor. It is the viewer who sees her face, hair and cowering gesture. Through the fiction of the scene, what is denied to Five Crows becomes available to the [white] audience who would see Cause's painting." So it seemed almost politically incorrect to look at the painting at all thereby partaking in the ocular rapine of poor Ms. Bewly.

But all of this really amounted to little more than an art historian getting carried away. More riveting by far was the comment book in which Boorstin has scrawled his denunciation.

Its pages bulged with recrimination and applause. "Where are the *Buffalo Soldiers*? Again blacks have been left out," one visitor had written. "A relentless sermon of condescension," snapped the historian Simon Schama. And another said, "I don't need to be told that these pictures were propaganda. Phooey! I'm happy with the myth. I cried like a baby at **Dances With Wolves**. I know the scholars and curators would have poopooed my red eyes. My great-grandfather was a sheriff in Kansas in 1874."

The comments were about two-thirds unfavorable. The book as a whole was encouraging. Most exhibitions consist of people standing numbly in line to get in, numbly in front of "important" works, then numbly in the museum shop, which is usually the beating heart of these institutions unless you count the trustees' cocktail parties. Here, for a change, was an exhibit that put visitors on their toes, eager to get in on the act.

Much of the PC furor has to do with history and what sort of history should be taught. ..."You can't just pick out the narrative of the people in charge and call it American history anymore." [A. Reed]

Much of the PC furor has to do with history and what sort of history should be taught. As professor Adolph Reed recently remarked, "You can't just pick out the narrative of the people in charge and call it American history anymore."

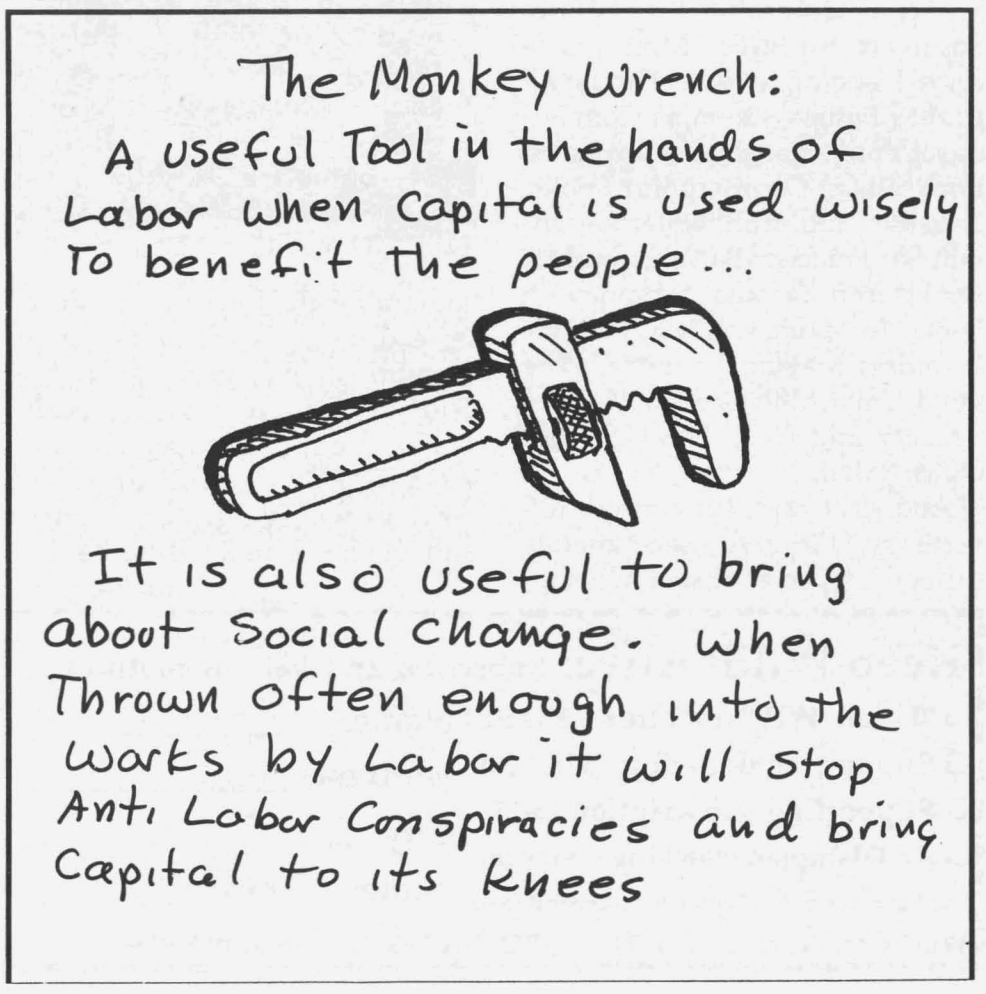
Much of the fury about the Smithsonian exhibit is really only a prelude to larger convulsions about the upcoming fifth centenary of Columbus' voyage. Two final visitors' jottings in the comment book gesture to those rows to come: "What should be celebrated here are the great achievements and collective glory that spurred the settlement of the West. ... American art should never be a handmaiden to political propaganda." Next to this, "Columbus' vision of genocide continues today. P.S. Custer had it coming to him. Free Leonard Peltier!"

A sample of commentary from the guest book at the Smithsonian's "West as America" exhibition:

"If I want Freud, I'll go to a hospital/clinic. If I want Indians, I'll go West."; "This show is very biased against Western culture. It has absolutely nothing good to say about America. It should explain in the first room that the Aztecs in the painting were prodigious cannibals. The show is just another banal exercise in the "politically correct" "oppression study" movement.; "An exhibit of revisionist bulljive made by anemic, analytical academics who shed no blood, sweat or tears in the frontier of the West."; "Please consider finding a middle ground between your bias and history's bias--it is atrocious that a museum of this calibre has a narration and viewpoint this bad."; "How very un-American to examine our past critically."; "Great collection! Too bad you've attempted to rewrite history to another view of PCness."; "Commentaries are pure racist ignorant claptrap!"; "How nice! According to your commentaries, the world is filled with racist white males and their hapless victims. Grow up!"; "The art is wonderful; the commentary is appalling. It demonstrates a politically correct biased view of history based not on fact but on subjective wishful thinking. Where did the curator find documentation for the thoughts that went through the artists' minds while painting?"; "Some people won't want to accept any of this. Manifest Destiny lives on. Right on!"; " Such wonderful art--and such damn stupid analysis--the propaganda crap reads as though it came straight from Bankrupt East Berlin. Will the "experts' ever learn?"; "The commentary was written by a person with a real sense of their own superiority. Permit me to doubt it!"; "Deconstructionist BS."; "The paintings were indications of the highest form of Western culture. Your attempt to imprint a cultural Stalinism in America will and must be opposed."; "Above commentary is overdrawn, overwrought, too 'politically correct.' What happened in America happened also in India, Africa, Australia--the morality is impossible to conclude in absolutes."; "The annotations are too political, and the writer has spent too much time with leftists and Freudians. Really! There's no reason for the notations to be so editorial biased."; "This exhibit and especially its commentary reflects a contemporary, Eastern, left-wing, revisionist view of U.S. domestic history. It does America no good."; "After viewing these paintings, it's clear that progress was inescapable. Interpret that as you wish."; "Your use of these often wonderful paintings to expand a particular thesis seems a misuse of art. The viewer is distracted from appreciating the beauty, curiosity and history of these works of art by the ideas, opinions, and prejudice written nearby as proven facts. Only in the USSR have I experienced the political interpretation of painting being foisted on the viewer as somehow the truth. At least, a neophyte viewer should be warned that 'the ideas expressed are those of one writer (or committee) and should not be accepted as the only possible viewpoint."

Used with permission, thanks to Regina Costa who covers the charge.

Jiggerypokery **by Al Zimmerman**


The Monkey Wrench:
A useful Tool in the hands of Labor when Capital is used wisely To benefit the people...
It is also useful to bring about Social change. When Thrown often enough into the works by Labor it will Stop Anti Labor Conspiracies and bring Capital to its knees

ALWAYS SAFE & LOCK, inc.

* Locks / Safes / Doors
* Doors & Frames
* Foreign and Domestic Auto Locks
* Fire Extinquishers
* Guaranteed Keys

301 West 4th 357-8500 & 800 Sleater-Kinney 458-8500

Rainbow Coalition Must Transcend Jesse Jackson

Tom Freeman

Jesse Jackson speaks to the heart and soul of progressive activists. His rhetoric is comforting, challenging, and, of course, inspiring. Yet the Rainbow Coalition must be clear that we are an independent organization with our own social vision and agenda apart from the personal or public goals of Jesse Jackson.

The history of the Progressive Party (PP) shows what happens when a political organization bases its identity on an individual. The PP formed to support the presidential aspirations of Henry Wallace. When Wallace was soundly defeated, however, the PP ceased to function as it had no agenda apart from electing Wallace.

People often say to me "oh, Jesse Jackson" when I mention the Rainbow or my new role as the TCRC's co-coordinator. It feels frustrating, for while I love and admire Jackson's work and humanity, making Jesse, the candidate, the organization's focal point will virtually guarantee the Rainbow's demise. For me, the Rainbow is about people working together on a wide-range of projects and issues for their common good. It's about political empowerment and public service. *Works in Progress* is a fine example of the Rainbow's commitment to service through educating each other and providing a forum for voices crying for justice.

Will the Rainbow support Jackson in '92? Who knows? However, such support should not be automatically assumed. Priorities change, as do people. Jesse Jackson is not the same man he was in 1968. He has developed into a statesperson of high caliber. Yet some of his actions continue to alienate progressives, such as his top/down directives which run in direct opposition to his bottom/up rhetoric. Jackson sees himself as the "leader" of the National Rainbow Coalition, and expects that the organization and its various locals will be behind him if and when he runs again. Such assumptions are based on political miscalculation and arrogance. Jackson endorsed the U.S. military build-up in the Persian Gulf. He appears to have invested considerable energy in being perceived as mainstream, which can only be viewed as putting personal political power ahead of principles and actions.

Will the Rainbow support Jackson in '92? Who knows? However, such support should not be automatically assumed.

Regardless of where the national or state Rainbows fall on this issue, the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition needs to be clear. *We are not Jesse Jackson's organization*. We will, through a truly egalitarian process, determine whom we support, if anybody, and act accordingly. What we are about is our community, our friends and neighbors; making a difference in our lives and the lives of those we care about.

Tom Freeman is the a current coordinator for TCRC. This piece reflects his views and has not been formally discussed by the Rainbow membership and therefore should not be confused as the TCRC's official position.

Highlights of TCRC Meeting - June 15, 1991

Voter Registration drives: TCRC is interested in initiating voter registration drives. Call Tom or Dan to volunteer

The Issues Committee will focus its attention on the endorsement and legislative processes. Upcoming elections are the city council and school board races. Also, Initiative 120 (Pro-Choice initiative) will be on the ballot. There will be other ballot issues which we need to analyze and either support or oppose. The Issues Committee will begin developing criteria for interviewing candidates and evaluating ballot measures. This is an important year. Get involved.

Democratic Party Rainbow members are encouraged to be visible. Resolutions can be introduced through their meetings. It will become more important the closer we get to the Presidential election year that we retain activity and work to ensure that money is fairly distributed. To become involved with Thurston County Democrats, call 352-2183.

Communicating with our Membership: It was decided that page 5 of WIP will be set aside for Rainbow news each month. The membership decided that someone should be recruited to call members and ask them to renew their memberships. If interested, call Tom at 943-1810.

Teresa Jennings has been re-elected Secretary of TCRC (she calls it "note-taker", but we all know what that means.) She's our organizer and memory and TCRC couldn't get along without her. Teresa, do you ever sleep?

Sandy Nelson is a reporter for the Tacoma News Tribune who became active in promoting Gay/Lesbian rights in Tacoma and was subsequently removed from her job and assigned copy desk duties. The membership unanimously agreed to express its endorsement and support of Sandy Nelson in her struggle to get her job back and to have the right to be active in political activities around the state. Write: Sandy Nelson Defense Committee, 1112 North K. St., Tacoma, WA 98403.

Anna Schlecht is being singled out for prosecution as an anti-war protester because she is a city employee. The rainbow passed a resolution that "all public employees should take note of this infringement on the rights of free speech for public employees." The Rainbow will write a letter of support on her behalf to: "The Presiding Thurston County District Court Judge in the Case: City of Olympia V. Mary A. Schlecht No. 128537" c/o Schlecht Defense Committee, 429 SE Frederick, Olympia, WA 98501. For more information, call 943-8386.

Differently-abled: In response to a phone call, the membership agreed that the differently-abled is an important constituency as specified in our Principles of Action, which will be put on the Rainbow page. We are also interested in soliciting an article from that constituency.

Solidarity!

TCRC Schedule Monthly Meetings for 1991

Thomas Freeman

The TCRC has decided that the organization's monthly meetings will be held the second Saturday of each month. The location will be First Christian Church, 701 Franklin S.E. (diagonal from Olympia Timberland Library). ALL GOOD MEETINGS START AND END ON TIME, SO PLAN TO BE THERE BY 12:30 p.m. and outta there at 2:30 p.m. Save the following dates now for future Rainbow meetings: July 13, Aug. 10, Sept. 14, Oct. 12, Nov. 9, and Dec. 14.

Our next meeting will be devoted to defining who we are as Rainbow members and planning an activity schedule for the next year. We will be considering a range of ballot measures (whether to support or oppose), determining candidate questions for Rainbow endorsements and building Rainbow visibility in the community. If you have any questions, feel free to call us. My phone number is 943-1810. To request additions to the agenda, call Dan Taylor at 456-4773.

Are you issues oriented? Do you want the Rainbow to initiate legislative proposals and lobby for progressive issues? Get involved in our issues committee. Contact Dan McGrady, Issues Chair and Past Co-Coordinator at 943-0990. Make your impact on Rainbow policy development.

Attention existing TCRC members. Has it been a while since you've renewed your membership? We need your financial support. If you haven't sent us money in a while, tear the coupon off this page and mail a check today. You'll save us a phone call and you'll rest with the satisfaction of knowing that you are supporting an organization that works for you and shares your social vision.

I AGREE WITH THE THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

A grassroots organization that represents the people who the two big political parties frequently ignore: peace activists, people of color, the differently-abled, union members, feminists, working people, environmentalists, gays and lesbians, the homeless, the working poor, and other community oriented peoples. An organization that supports and encourages progressive electoral candidates. An organization that networks, that knows what it believes in and works with others who have the same goals.

Yes, I'm joining the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, sending them some money, and getting involved.

❑ Enclosed is: $25; $10 low-income.

❑ Yes, I want to be involved in Rainbow activities. Give me a call.

(name)_____

(address)_____

(city)_____ (state)_____ (zip)_____

(work phone)_____ (home phone)_____

Send to:
T.C.R.C., P.O. Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507. For information call 943-1810 or 456-4773.

Learning Labor History

Ross Rieder

As a young junior high school teacher back in the early 60s, I became aware of the history of workers in a rather strange way. A student rooming with a colleague was doing a paper on the Everett Massacre. It seemed that in Everett that was not proper. He began to receive threatening phone calls. Having learned somewhere to question authority. I went to the Everett Public Library to inquire about the material she had been studying. I hoped that some of the same folks calling her would call me—I had worked up a few phrases to pour in their ears.

Well, they never called. But, this stuff was fascinating. It was my first inkling of what I had never been taught in public school or college history classes. Not that I should have expected to be taught these things in public school or a church-related college. Still—fascinating!

A few years later, while state president of a teacher union, a friend talked me into attending a labor history conference in Spokane. I found two things there: historians and academics love to argue, and historians and many academics love to pontificate about history if they don't have to participate and pay union dues.

Mortimer Adler said. "What we learn from history is that we don't learn from history." Clare Sparks said, "The most radical notion in America is the long memory." Henry Ford said, "History is bunk." (Ford was right, I realized, about the history I had been taught in school.) And, so many have said it that credit is futile: "If you don't know where you've been, you don't know where you should go." (Or as one person put it: you don't know a freeway from a cul-de-sac.)

All these pithy expressions describe why I wish more people could have a greater sense of history about their own work and the contributions of their worker family and community. I would like people to be able to recognize that they've been taught a classist history by a system that claims to be classless.

We promote the sense of history that knows that there has been a struggle to get this far and that the struggle for justice, dignity and decency is far from over.

So, along comes the Pacific Northwest Labor History Association, founded 1968. It is most interesting to note that the establishment of PNLHA caused the allegedly non-existent upper class some heart burn—enough heartburn that one of the founders was chased from his academic haven at Gonzaga University.

What got this fellow in trouble is the concept of "history on the hoof," as one of our other founders, Olympian Lou Stewart, called it. Invitations had been extended to Dave Beck, Harry Bridges or Cesar Chavez, who was raising hob with the hop growers in Central Washington at the time, to address that Spokane labor history conference. Our founder was reminded that the nice people who remembered places like Gonzaga in their will were not likely to be friendly towards the above mentioned trio not even one at a time.

When this publication asked me to write an article about what labor history means to me, I was reminded that what something is is, to an extent, determined by how we look at it or study it. The Pacific Northwest Labor History Association, a society devoted to the study and preservation of the social, economic, political, and cultural history of the working people of the Pacific Northwest, is a tool that a couple hundred other dues payers and I use to study working class history and culture.

We hold an annual conference (the 1991 conference was held recently at TESC/Labor Center) to "look at" labor history. We hear from the academics and we hear from practitioners and we hear from the comrades who were in the trenches. (I use the word comrades specifically because it is non-sexist and defies the authority in our society that denies us the use of this articulate expression.)

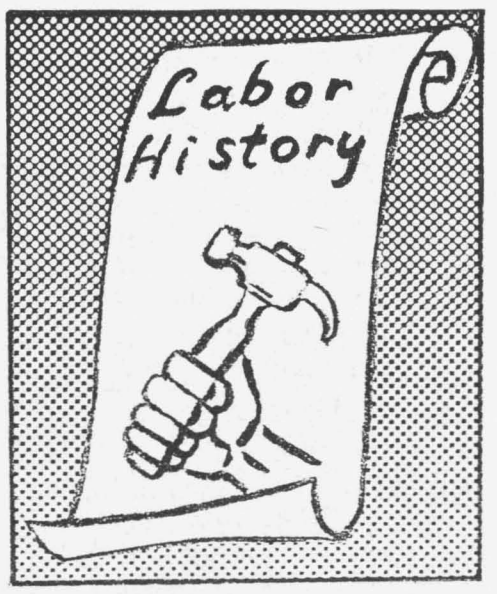
We hold an annual Workers' Heritage festival that celebrates the music, art, poetry, drama and stories of the working class of the Pacific Northwest. We take that culture to the Pacific Northwest Folklife Festival and Seattle Bumbershoot. We bring working class musicians to audiences in our area.

We have published poetry about Centralia, a novel about Everett. A study on the Portland 1934 Dock strike and the 1936 Seattle PI strike.

We provide assistance to students, scholars, and family members searching for their families union and political heritage.

We do everything within our means to promote in people a sense of history of how we really got where we are today. Skip the Jim Hills, Sam Hills, George Weyerhaeusers and Boeings of the region—without us they'd be poor, too. (And, who needs to be rich?)

We promote the sense of history that knows that there has been a struggle to get this far and that the struggle for justice, dignity and decency is far from over. That sense of history also teaches us that no corporation or government (not even a labor government though chances may improve with one) can promote the task better than we can.



Ross Rieder is a labor enthusiast, and is also works with The Pacific Northwest LaborHistory Association.

Smithfield CAFE
OLYMPIA
TWO TWELVE WEST FOURTH AVENUE
Hours: 7-8 Weekdays, 8-8 Weekends, 786-1725

Imprints Bookstore
917 N. 2nd
Tacoma, WA 98403
383-6322
1-800-WE "R" GAYS
Your Lesbian/Gay Bookstore
M-F 11-6 Sat Noon-5
Mail & Special Orders Welcome

Organizing is Carpenters' Goal

Mark Bean

Carpenters from six local unions of the Southern Puget Sound District Council of Carpenters are meeting to discuss and learn that the future of their union lies in organizing. What marks this organizing school as different from others held in the past is that those attending are rank and file carpenters, not full-time staff. It was held at The Evergreen State College in conjunction with the Rosalie Gittings Labor Education and Research Center (known as the Labor Center) June 20-22.

The main goal of the school was to establish core organizing committees at each local of the District Council. It was an opportunity for carpenters to take a break from the daily pre-occupation with work, family and the world for the purpose of thinking about and discussing:

1. Re-establishing ties with our communities as union members.
2. How do carpenters organize for change in the construction economy of this area for the betterment for themselves, families and communities?
3. What organizing knowledge do carpenters need to help build a larger, stronger union?

The three-day residency school provided an overview of the construction industry. The carpenters discussed how to build an organizing committee. They also practiced an application of thinking and strategic planning toward an organizing goal. All of this will foster better communication and solidarity between carpenters and the communities in which they live and work.

Mark is an active unionist and has written for WIP before.

Public Monies Used to Bust Union

Karen Keiser

How far some Washington state officials will go to give special treatment to a private company has been revealed in a new federal investigation. The report alleges more than $700,000 in federal money was misspent with full knowledge and approval of Washington state Employment Security Department officials. The federal money administered by the state made it possible for the Vanalco Aluminum Company in Vancouver to bust its union.

The Washington State Labor Council is calling for a full-scale legislative investigation of the case. "Public monies were used to bust the union with the knowledge and acquiescence of public officials," charged Washington State Labor Council President Larry Kenney. "We want an investigation to uncover the secrets in this case. Economic development does not mean any job at any price. Communities dependant on a single industry must not be panicked into abandoning their own workers."

The story is a case study for unions of what to guard against if faced with a severe recession or major plant closure.

The trail is complicated. It begins with a strike by the Aluminum Trades Council in 1986, part of a national strike against the plant's original owner, Alcoa. Alcoa announced its plans to sell the Vancouver facility three days after the strike began. But the 600 workers who were on strike, voted to accept a new three year contract offer from Alcoa that included some concessions. The workers returned to the plant under the newly ratified contract, and were ordered to proceed with an "orderly shutdown" of the facility.

A search for a new buyer began with a task force organized through the local Columbia River Economic Development Council headed by then-State Senator Joe Tanner. An employee stock ownership plan was developed, a joint labor-management ESOP was proposed. The federal Economic Development Administration gave the task force a $75,000 grant. Another $10,000 came from the state's Department of Community Development with additional funds from Block Grants, Clark County and the City of Vancouver that brought the total task force budget to more than $100,000. Local 300 of the Aluminum Brick and Glass Workers Union donated $1400 to the task force. But labor did not receive a voice or a vote on the task force.

The task force hired a Seattle attorney, Pat Dunn, to aid in the search for a new buyer. It was later revealed that Dunn was retained as a paid lobbyist for Bay Resources/Vanalco, the company that officially ended up owning the plant. The question that has yet to be answered is: When did Dunn become a representative for Bay Resources/Vanalco, and did he reveal his relationship with Bay/Resources while working for the task force to search for a new buyer?

Another new buyer did surface independent of Dunn's work. Ken Peterson offered to buy the plant for approximately $36 million. Peterson's offer was rejected by Alcoa in favor of the deal with Bay Resources. Vanalco President Richard L. Smith has declined to reveal the buyout price Bay Resources paid for the Vancouver Plant.

Whatever the price, the newly created company managed to avoid paying several million dollars in taxes to the state Department of Revenue. When companies sell their assets, the buyer pays sales tax. But Vanalco didn't pay a penny. A confidential Washington state Department of Revenue ruling granted Vanalco an exemption. Vanalco maintained the sale involved a stock transfer. The unions suspected Vanalco was a creature created and controlled by Alcoa.

Under federal labor law, an existing union contract remains in force unless there is a sale of the assets. In the Vanalco case, the company wanted—and got—it both ways. It avoided paying sales tax, and it also avoided continuation of the union contract.

"We want an investigation to uncover the secrets in this case. Economic development does not mean any job at any price."

Vanalco and the Aluminum Trades Council held three negotiating sessions before the plant reopened. The attorney representing the company, Bruce Cross of Seattle's Perkins Coie law firm, was paid more than $35,000 from Task Force funds to represent Vanalco in the non-productive sessions.

Vanalco reopened the plant, without a union contract, in February 1987.

Not only were the workers hired by Vanalco non-union, they also had their first months "wages" paid for by the state. Vanalco used a little-used law that had ben sponsored by State Senator Joe Tanner in 1986. The unusual arrangement, known as "First Source," allowed Vanalco to hire workers and have them work for the first 30 days on the job without pay. The workers would be paid "unemployment benefits" by the state unemployment insurance system. All Vanalco had to pay was the industrial insurance premium on each worker for the first 30 days.

Vanalco signed a master agreement with the Washington State Department of Employment Security in January, 1987 for an on-the-job training program for up to 200 employees. The Employment Security Department's Assistant Commissioner at the time was Susan Dunn, the wife of Vanalco lobbyist Pat Dunn. Susan Dunn was responsible for administering both First Source program funds and Trade Readjustment Act funds.

Union representatives had several meetings with Susan Dunn protesting the Vanalco on-the-job training program. Her potential conflict of interest was never acknowledged and her responses to the union protests were negative.

In June, 1987, Susan Dunn also applied through Employment Security to the federal JTPA Title III Dislocated Workers Program for another $1.2 million in training funds for 500 dislocated workers at Vanalco and Columbia Aluminum. Her application was rejected for several reasons, including her failure to show a need for on-the-job training for workers who were already skilled in the industry.

The U.S. Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration just released investigation of the Vanalco case found dozens of fraudulent practices in the on-the-job training program. The investigation continues into the use of unemployment benefits as "wages" and the payment of Trade Readjustment Act monies to Vanalco.

The behavior of the State Attorney General's office is also worthy of note. The DOL investigation charges that the AG's office refused to provide unrestricted access to the participant files in this case, which it claims is a violation of the Trade Adjustment Assistance regulations. Restricting access to participant files has limited the DOL investigation of the use of the First Source program.

The U.S. Department of Labor report lambastes the state for misusing more than $700,000 of on-the-job training funds at the Vanalco plant. The detailed investigation uncovered case after case where the wages of experienced, skilled workers were subsidized by the federal "training" funds.

"I'm just outraged at this misuse of public funds, which in my view was used to crush the union," said William B. Knowles, the attorney representing the Vancouver Aluminum Trades Council.

"We certainly don't feel the training was bogus by any stretch of the imagination," says Vanalco Vice President Charles Reali in reaction to the DOL report. "If there's any problem here, it's between the state and the feds," Reali told the Seattle Times.

According to the report, the Washington Employment Security Department "cannot demonstrate the benefit of the OJT training to the participant. The only evident benefit is the Vanalco which had the wages of its employees subsidized with Federal funds."

The Department of Labor investigation uncovers several outrageous practices:

Vanalco received $201,988.16 in on-the-job "training" reimbursements for 47 workers who were working in virtually the identical occupation they had held before in the same plant.

Vanalco received $134,697.20 for further, extended 2nd and 3rd OJT contracts that were written for participants who were already working in suitable employment, and did not need further "training."

Vanalco was reimbursed $134,454.02 for so-called "open management" training during two-week pay periods. Vanalco claimed 300 hours of "open management training" for many participants.

Vanalco received $81,767.53 as reimbursement for "excess" hours of training. A special OJT code created for the Vanalco workers, allowed reimbursement for 40,799 excess hours of training reportedly needed because of so-called "extra barriers to employment the participants may have." The federal investigators could identify no "extra barriers" for the already-skilled workers.

Vanalco overstated the gross wages of 87 percent of the participants in order to be reimbursed beyond the limit of 50 percent of actual wages. These "overcharges" amount to another $18,522.07.

Vanalco billed at hourly wage rates in excess of the rates approved in the OJT contracts in 65 percent of the cases. This "overcharge" amounted to another $7,055.66.

Altogether, the Department of Labor disallowed $702,257.95 in costs for the Vanalco fiasco.

How could Vanalco win such "special treatment?" Who in local, state and federal government could okay a scheme that gave Vanalco extraordinary treatment at so many levels? Whether the circumstances were a convenient coincidence or a case of collusion and conspiracy may never be finally proved. But the facts point to a planned campaign of union avoidance that was approved of and facilitated by public officials.

A full investigation should be launched.

Joel Davis
P.O. Box 735
Olympia, WA 98507

POPULAR SCIENCE BOOKS

Endorphins: New Waves In Brain Chemistry ✦ 1984

Flyby: The Interplanetary Odyssey of Voyager 2 ✦ 1987

Mirror Matter: Pioneering Antimatter Physics (with Robert Forward) ✦ 1988

Defending the Body: Unraveling the Mysteries of Immunology ✦ 1989

Mapping the Code: The Genome Project and the Choices of Modern Science ✦ 1990

IN PROGRESS:
Journey to the Center of the Galaxy ✦ 1991

Member
American Society of Journalists & Authors
The Authors Guild
National Association of Science Writers
Oak Society
Science Fiction Writers of America

A Conversation with Frank Wilkinson

The F.B.I.'s Continuing Activities In The Violat

On Thursday, May 16th, Frank Wilkinson, National Director Emeritus of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, (NCARL), was Tom Freeman's in-studio guest on KAOS Radio 89.3 FM. Wilkinson spoke about his lifelong battle against illegal surveillance by the FBI and other governmental covert agencies. Wilkinson's visit at The Evergreen State College was sponsored by ***The Rosalie Gittings Labor Education and Research Center*** *as part of the 23rd Annual Pacific Northwest Labor History Conference.*

Tom: How did you become involved in your lifelong battle against repressive legislation?

Frank: I'd like to pick up on that by indicating that while our committee worked for nearly 30 years to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), there were little state HUACs all over the country. Here in Washington State you had the Canwell Committee that did enormous damage to people, labor unions, faculty - all kinds of people were targeted.

They had been following me from 1942... almost all the repressive laws and the repressive inquisitorial committees of Congress were orchestrated by J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. I'm really here in your state to talk about what the FBI is doing today - to environmentalists, to librarians, to African-American elected officials. To people who are working for peace in a way that the Reagan or Bush Administrations don't like .... Don Edwards, a very wonderful representative from California, and John Conyers, his partner, also in the House Judiciary Committee, have introduced a bill, [HR50], which if it becomes law, will put an end to the FBI's political spying and political disruption. I'm afraid many [people] don't even know what the FBI's doing it to them.

Tom: I'm glad you mentioned what's going on today. I think a lot of us believe that this is ancient history, that the Unamerican Activities Committees are disbanded and the spying by the government is over. I think where I first became aware that it's not over is with the harassment of CISPES members. In your opinion, how did the government become so interested in the political beliefs and activities of its citizens?

Frank: J. Edgar Hoover ran that agency almost dictatorially from 1924 until his death in 1972, Hoover was really a very evil man, in terms of democratic processes. He was a racist, really an elitist, he did not want social change. He had a lot of strange attitudes. He had an almost salacious interest in sex on the part of politicians. One of the reasons he had so much power is he did keep track of not only sexual activity of members of Congress, but any member of Congress who was actually doing anything that wasn't quite "right"; he had a way of warning them...

So why would Hoover have me followed? We learned in our lawsuit, which we've now won, they wasted 17 million dollars following me over a period of 38 years. The total number of pages is just astronomical, 132,000 pages of not just surveillance, but disruption; trying to break up the work I was trying to do. I have a tape that I got very recently through my lawsuit. The second time I came to the Evergreen College campus, my whole presentation was taken down by the FBI. The FBI had said they stopped all this in 1975. Some man sent through this tape, showing the FBI had been here on this campus to take down what I was saying about the FBI's attack on the women's movement and the lesbian and gay rights movement.

In my case, it seems very much to be racism. I was working successfully at integration, in 1952 when I was at the peak of my career.... I lost my job... In 1958 I was invited down to Georgia. The Unamerican Activities Committee had come down there to put the unamerican label upon Dr. King, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the whole civil rights movement. I was invited down to circulate a petition among black churches in Atlanta, to keep the Unamerican Committee out of the south. Unbeknownst to us then, both Dr. King and I were under 24 hour a day surveillance by the FBI, so the moment I arrived, I was again summoned before the Unamerican Committee, and as an ACLU test case, Carl Bredon and I both used the First Amendment, knowing we could go to jail, but knowing that it was important at that time for some civil disobedience to bring the questions of the constitutionality of those kinds of committees before the Supreme Court. We nearly won, actually. Surprisingly, we had a 5 to 4 vote, and we did lose. Carl and I were the last two people to go to jail, serving a years prison sentences, in prisons in Georgia and South Carolina and Virginia and Lewisberg penitentiaries. Essentially it was racist. 1958 was four years after the school integration decision. The State of Georgia was stonewalling....Then we had a Committee of Congress coming down there putting sort of a red label upon Dr. King, and anyone who's trying to work towards implementing the Supreme Court's decisions. My files are just filled with that. That's only one aspect of it. I do a great deal of speaking at universities and colleges, and I've got probably 200 pages of my FBI files telling the agent "here's where Wilkinson is due to speak. It's your responsibility to disrupt his speaking. Prevent him from speaking at this college, this university." And always Hoover would tag in a little line, saying "since Wilkinson frequently speaks at universities and colleges, the utmost discretion will be needed to avoid any appearance of the F.B.I.'s involvement in the violation of academic freedom".

. . . Hoover would tag in a little line, saying "since Wilkinson frequently speaks at universities and colleges, the utmost discretion will be needed to avoid any appearance of the F.B.I.'s involvement in the violation of academic freedom".

Tom: How did you learn about it?

Frank: Pure accident. My office had been repeatedly burglarized and they were all political burglaries. Things like typewriters were never stolen, but my mailing lists or correspondence files were stolen. Because those things seemed to be used later by the Unamerican Activities Committee, we thought HUAC had done it, until Watergate, when the trial of G. Gordon Liddy came along and we noticed he burglarized the office of Dan Ellsberg's psychiatrist, Dr. Fielding in Beverly Hills. We noted the date that that happened was the day before or after my office had been burglarized, so I went to Archibald Cox, the Watergate prosecutor, to see if G. Gordon Liddy had hit Ellensburg one night, and hit me the next night. For a year before Professor Cox was removed, he checked very carefully to see if Liddy or any of the other Nixon plumbers had done this. He finally wrote to me and said, 'I don't think there is any evidence that Liddy or any of the other plumbers did it. I think you should talk to the FBI about this. I'm sending them to you.' That was my lead. They walked into my office. It was like they were clones. The same gray suit, the same necktie, the same handkerchief, the same little ballet step as they showed their passes. I have a great sense of humor, but at that point I was very grim. I said, 'Gentlemen, sit down. I want to ask you one question. Did you burglarize my office?' Cox told me to ask them that. There was a pause of about fifteen or twenty seconds. The lead agent leaned forward and asked an unbelievable question. He said, 'What date?' And I gave him the date, and he said, 'no, not on that date.'

Then I filed under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), at the age of 65, and got the first 4,000 pages. We had enough things to go to court It cost [a law firm which donated their services] more than a million dollars, but we've won the case. We've got the documents, we have the facts. And above all, a book we've written, called the *FBI vs. the First Amendment*, which tells not only what happened to people like me, but deals with CISPES, deals with the librarians, deals with the attacks upon African-American elected officials which is what's going on today under the Reagan-Bush FBI guidelines.

Tom: What is the FBI doing today?

Frank: Let me explain what happened because you mentioned you thought it ended when HUAC was abolished. Let's go back into a little history. In 1975, after 15 years of organizing we did abolish the Unamerican Activities Committee. Meanwhile, we had already abolished the various little committees, like your Canwell Committee in your state. Also, J. Edgar Hoover died in 1972. Then, with Watergate, we learned that possibly the FBI had been doing some things they shouldn't have been doing. So a committee was set up in the Senate, headed up by the late Senator Frank Church, a Democrat from Idaho; but it was a bipartisan committee; Barry Goldwater from Arizona, a Republican, was on it, and they began asking the FBI bureaucracy under oath, "What did you do? Did you ever burglarize where there is no crime involved?" They got information showing that 25,000 burglaries had been made, where there was no search warrant, no nothing, just a break-in; they found out the FBI had spent a half of it's budget on *political* surveillance rather than going after *criminal* activity. They found a great deal of information about files that we never had before. Gerald Ford and his Attorney General wrote guidelines that protected the First Amendment rights. It's very important politically. If we're going to win these battles, you don't win it as a liberal partisan Democrat issue. It's got to be bipartisan and so from 1976 to 1980, the last of Ford's time, and Jimmy Carter's time, we know of very little political surveillance. Then comes Reagan. He wrote one Executive Order in 1981 that allowed the CIA to do things on American soil they'd never been allowed to do. It allowed the FBI to do things offshore of this country.

The main thing came in 1983, when under advice of Ed Meese, his Attorney General, he changed the FBI's investigation of *communism* to *terrorism*, so the Reagan guidelines are called "foreign counterintelligence / terrorism." The same thing that went on under J. Edgar Hoover, under the guise of doing something about the left and communists are done today, against CISPES, Librarians, African-American individuals, under the guise of doing something about terrorism. I already indicated his 35 page guideline was classified. Even your congress person in this area has never seen what we're dealing with here, so what we do have is the empirical data showing what has happened.

We learned that three years ago. That the FBI under George Bush had started a program called "Library Awareness Program (The FBI has the most quaint use of names. COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) The FBI began sending agents to library workers at home, at night. They'd flash their badges, come in and say, "I'd like your help. We would like to know what books this person has checked out in the last 30 days. We'll be back tomorrow night. It's a National Security issue, please don't discuss it with anybody. Of course, we'll pay you for it."

This one library worker in New York recognized the Orwellian nature of what was going on here, so he went to his librarian, and his librarian went to the American Library Association, and they were utterly shocked that the FBI would stoop to such a thing asking what books people are reading. So they called in the FBI Director, William Sessions, and asked him, "did you know that your FBI agent have been calling upon library workers to find out what people are reading?" They thought he had no knowledge of it, and Sessions very candidly said, "yes, that's a part of our Library Awareness Program." And then in disbelieve they said, "why are you doing it?" And Sessions told them "We feel if we know what books people are reading, we can develop a profile to help us determine whether that person is prone towards terrorism."

Well, the librarians were absolutely shocked by this, they dismissed him abruptly, and passed a resolution supporting the Edwards/Conyers HR50 bill to do something about it. The story continues. Under the FOIA last June, they checked out to find out what had happened to the individual librarians who on their own saw the moral issues, saw the Constitutional issues raised, and had written to the FBI condemning them for the Library Awareness Program. They found 266 individual librarians all over the country had written letters to the FBI, and the FBI under George Bush and Sessions, his Director, had placed all 266 under monitoring (their new word for surveillance) to find out if their opposition to the Library Awareness Programs was due to Soviet terrorist influences

Tom: Now at some point was the FBI or somebody attempting to assassinate you?

Frank: That's correct. One of the documents of the 132,000 we got reveals this. In 1964, March 4th actually, the date is impor-

"If pizza is an art
To Mamas has the brushes"
"Losing oneself in Olympia"
Sept: 21, 1987. CPJ
Mamas
120 N. PEAR OLYMPIA (206) 943-9849

lation Of Civil Rights

tant because it's 100 days after President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas. We have a document that reads as follows: "Agent in charge in Los Angeles to J. Edgar Hoover Subject: Frank Wilkinson." It begins with the statement that "there will be an assassination attempt on Frank Wilkinson (and the name of who's going to try to kill me is blanked out) when he's speaking tonight" and they give an address in Sherman Oaks, California, a very posh home I was speaking at - a hundred people in a living room. I was giving a talk there. And then blank out again. "We'll stake out the residence to witness the assassination." When I'm not killed that night, the next day, March 5, 1964, (you understand this is not all that far remote in time), "Agent in charge to J. Edgar Hoover, subject: Frank Wilkinson. No attempt was made on the life of Wilkinson last night. We'll watch for further developments."

Now that actually is a document we have. As we proceeded with our trial and we won these great victories, we still don't know who was going to kill me. That has never been told to us. What we do know is that working with the FBI, in the bushes, staking out to watch me get killed that night, was the commander of the Los Angeles Police Department Anti-Subversive detail.

In the CISPES case, Frank Wadi

was the informer in Dallas Texas. Told by the FBI to infiltrate CISPES to find out about their terrorist activities. Where they keep the guns. Well, this guy was not a very good guy, and he did these things, he did infiltrate. He got high up into the CISPES chapter in Dallas. But the higher up he got, the less "terrorism" he found. So he came back to his handlers and said "I don't find any terrorism here. There's nothing here. We're just wasting time." And they said "look again. You'll find where they're keeping the guns." Well, he laughed at them and said, "look; a Catholic nun heads up CISPES here in Dallas. For example, part of my cover is I help fold up chairs after our meetings. She came up afterwards and took my hand and said thank you brother" and sort of touched her cheek to mine. And do you think that this woman has guns hidden somewhere in that church?" And the FBI handler said "that's it!" We'll rent you an apartment. You'll invite her there, and you seduce her, then you'll find out where she's keeping the guns." Well, because of that, plus the fact that the FBI handler had not been paying all that he thought he was supposed to get, Frank Verelli went to the Dallas Morning News and told the whole story. A year goes by, finally 60 Minutes picks it up. And then finally, Don Edwards in the House Judiciary Committee picks it up. But while I was in Boston three weeks ago, an investigative reporter for the Boston Globe invited Frank Verelli to come up to Boston, where he interviewed him at length, and it is now a story coming out, called "Break-Ins, Death Squads, Death Threats, the FBI." And here we find the same thing going on right today, only we're beyond infiltrating CISPES. This man Verelli, his father had been high up in the National Guard in El Salvador, the FBI sent him down to San Salvador to establish a hot line between the death squads in El Salvador and the FBI in Dallas. And we now have the records showing every time in Dallas the INS deported some El Salvadoran out of our country, shipping them back to their death just from the tragedies of that country, but every time that happened, the INS notified Frank Verelli, and Frank Verelli gets on the telephone to his hotline contact in San Salvador, and gives the name of the deportee to his contact. Who's coming, what flight, what time the plane is going to arrive. Scores of people have been taken off those planes and killed by the National Guard, by the death squads, directly on contact from the FBI. Now this is not something of J. Edgar Hoover, this happened in 1982, '83, '84.

Lawsuits were filed, the FOIA was used by the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, and they got 1200 of 3600 pages on the CISPES Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. And it revealed that absolutely no crime had been committed. Sessions himself, said that it was a mistake, "oh, oops, we shouldn't have done that" It reveals that while CISPES was cleared, the FBI continued to going after what in my generation they would have called "communist fronts" - which under this generation in the FBI is now called "terrorist fronts". And we have a list of 190 church, community, campus organizations listed by the FBI today as "terrorist fronts", under that original investigation of CISPES.

Tom: And anybody can really be referred to as a terrorist, can't they? It's just a word.

Frank: Of course.

Tom: It's just like they could call you a communist. It's just a word. They call you a communist and suddenly you're "unamerican".

Frank: I think it helps very much to understand what my generation went through, when anybody could be called a communist. For example, one of the "terrorist fronts" in Baltimore is called the Sisters of Mercy. You know, what a name for a terrorist front. In the Catholic Church in Baltimore. That kind of stuff. But it's not just the churches; it's trade unions, auto workers, all over the country, every campus that had an active campaign that opposed Reagan's policies in El Salvador, in Nicaragua, in Guatemala, every one of those outfits were placed under surveillance by the FBI. If Evergreen or any of the campuses up here in Washington had active pro-peace negotiated settlement for Central America, you can be sure they have an FBI file.

Tom: We probably have an FBI file, because so many Evergreen students along with other members of the community, strolled into the House of Representative chambers here in Washington State to demand that they pass a resolution against the war that took place this year. So Evergreen is a "hotbed of political activity".

Frank: Well, bless them . Good work. By the way, we have another example out of this terrible Gulf War. We now know, as a matter of fact, I was very much involved in this issue, that the FBI went after Arab-Americans, in the same way they went after Japanese-Americans at the outbreak of World War II. And Arab-Americans were visited at their homes, you know, they come in and flash their credentials and say, "so and so, we want to know what you know about terrorism, what do you know about the PLO?" And some of these people are fifth generation Americans with Arab names, yet they were on FBI's list of so-called Arab undesirables, which they were investigating. So it is true, as you say, there were good demonstrations against the war, obviously not enough, but all over the country. I witnessed spying upon a demonstration of over 4000 in L.A.. I found four undercover camera people on the third floor of a garage overlooking the Federal Building in L.A., filming with long range cameras, so they could do close-ups over people at a distance, taking pictures of everybody there. It's the same thing going on, and I think that it's important. The settlement in my case says that the FBI shall not spy upon me or my organization any longer. That's out, and if they ever do, if we ever catch them, they have to pay monetary damages without further litigation.

Tom: Frank, how would individuals organize to dismantle this regulation, that one man, the President of the United States, was able to put into place that basically re-authorized the repressive actions of the FBI and the CIA?

Frank: The shocking thing to me is that the FBI has never had a congressional charter. It was started right after the Palmer raids; Hoover came out of that; and he was named director, and an Attorney General by the name of Stone at that time gave him his initial powers, and from that time on, he just accrued more and more power. I think it's important for any Democrats that want to put the whole trip onto Reagan or Bush to know that Franklin Roosevelt gave Hoover a lot of power he should never have had, during WWII - things used against the Japanese-Americans. Roosevelt died; Hoover lived and he never gave up that power. So we have a situation where Gerald Ford did something good; wrote a good guideline. But it was only good as long as that president was in office, and he's gone now.

What we do know is that working with the FBI, in the bushes, staking out to watch me get killed that night, was the commander of the Los Angeles Police Department Anti-Subversive detail.

So what we need is not to have the FBI acting in the way any individual president wants them to act, but Congress should step in and say "Look you guys, your job is to enforce the Federal criminal laws, and you should keep out of politics, personal beliefs, religion, the peace movement, all these things that are American rights. The Edwards/Conyers Bill HR50 is a step in that direction. I'm sure we're going to win. We now have the support of 577 professors of Constitutional law. Eighteen of them are deans of law schools. We have them in 144 law schools in every state. We have 550 writers, poets, essayists, novelists, historians, you name it. Right now mathematicians are signing a petition.

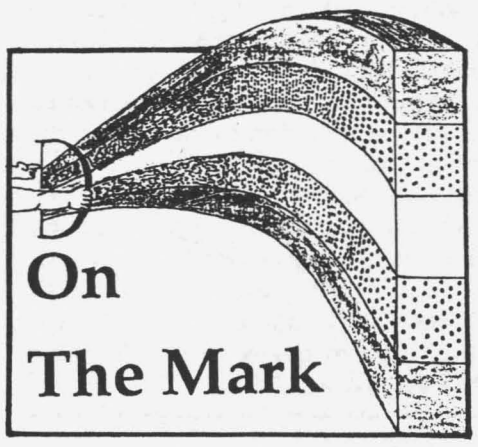
Tom: Some people might argue that there are parties that are worth having under surveillance, such as right-wing hate groups. How do we balance observations of political groups with individual rights?

Frank: Good question. The word you use here is "hate groups". In our country the First Amendment protects the right to hate as well as the right to love. If you're going to hang on to any semblance of democracy, as long as you are speaking or writing, that's a First Amendment right, and the FBI should keep out of that. Anyone should keep out of it. That's the way it should be. But when a hate group, for example the Ku Klux Klan, does something, then the FBI should step in But more and more we're learning about the civil rights movement in the South and the FBI, who were deeply entranced there, did nothing whatsoever to stop the brutality that was used by the racists in Alabama, Georgia, all over the South, against people who were working for their civil rights. The FBI didn't do a damn thing about it, let's face that. So be very careful when we talk about having the FBI do good things; if you get at all distant from the violation of a Federal criminal law the FBI is right there out of line, off base, and should not be doing it.

To get a copy of HR50 write to Frank Wilkinson at: NCARL 1313 West 8th St., room 313, Los Angeles, CA 90017.

If you want to get a copy of the book FBI vs. The First Amendment by Richard Criley send $7.50 to NCARL. Frank promises it is an eye-opener. It was awarded the Lillian Hellman/ Dashell Hammett award for the 1991 Civil Liberties book of the year.

To get you FBI file write to: FBI 711 Capitol Way S., Olympia, WA 98501 or call 352-3234. If no answer call their Seattle branch at 622-0406. Include your SS#, date of birth, birth place, father's name, mother's maiden name, and be sure to sign your letter.



A CHRISTIAN VIEW OF MARXISM

Dave Jette

This month we examine the strengths and weaknesses of Marxism as put forward by a Christian, non-Marxist socialist.

A Christian Socialist

Cornel West is an African-American theologian. Presently he is professor of religion and director of the Afro-American studies program at Princeton University. He serves as an honorary chair of the Democratic Socialists of America, the main social-democratic organization in the United States, and he upholds Gramscian democratic socialism as a minority position within DSA. He considers himself to be a non-Marxist, Christian socialist.

West has just written *The Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought* (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1991, $18.00 in paperback). This book is intended to bring out "the crucial values of individuality, democracy, and social freedom in Marx's own thought". In the remainder of this column we shall let West speak for himself, quoting extensively from the book's lengthy introductory essay.

We should start with West's view of his Christianity:

> My writings constitute a perennial struggle between my African and American identities, my democratic socialist convictions, and my Christian sense of the profound tragedy and possible triumph in life and history. I am a prophetic Christian freedom fighter principally because of distinctive Christian conceptions of what it is to be human, how we should act toward one another, and what we should hope for. These conceptions - put forward in a variety of diverse streams and strains of the Christian tradition stretching back over centuries - has to do with the indispensable yet never adequate capacities of human beings to create error-proof or problem-free situations, theories, or traditions - hence the strong anti-dogmatic or fallible character of prophetic Christian thought and practice which encourage relentless critical consciousness; the moral claim to view each and every individual as having equal status, as warranting dignity, respect, and love, especially those who are denied such dignity, respect, and love by individuals, families, groups, social structures, economic systems, or political regimes - hence the prophetic Christian identification and solidarity with the downtrodden and disinherited, the degraded and dispossessed; and lastly, the good news of Jesus Christ which lures and links human struggles to the coming of the kingdom - hence the warding off of disempowering responses to despair, dread, disappointment, and death.

West explains his basic criticism of the inadequacy of Marxism, an inadequacy which he finds remedied with Christianity:

> I am a non-Marxist socialist in that as a Christian, I recognize certain irreconcilable differences between Marxists of whatever sort and Christians of whatever sort. Since my conception of Christian faith is deeply, though not absolutely, historical, this disagreement is not primarily a metaphysical issue; rather, it is a basic existential difference in the weight I put on certain biblical narratives, symbols, and rituals that generate sanity and meaning for me. My Christian perspective - mediated by the rich traditions of the Black Church that produced and sustains me - embraces depths of despair, layers of dread, encounters with the sheer absurdity of the human condition, and ungrounded leaps of faith alien to the Marxist tradition. Like so much of black music, Christian insights speak on existential and visceral levels neglected by the Marxist tradition. This is not so because the Marxist tradition is Eurocentric - for there are traditions and figures in Europe that do speak to existential issues, e.g., Samuel Beckett, T. S. Eliot, Martin Buber, Susanne Langer. Rather, *the Marxist tradition is silent about the existential meaning of death, suffering, love, and friendship owing to its preoccupation with improving the social circumstances under which people pursue love, revel in friendship, and confront death. I share this concern.* [italics added]

Strengths of Marxism

On the other hand, West considers Marxism to be centered in the values of individuality and democracy, considering Marxist thought

> as one grand stream, among others, of the larger modern articulation of historical consciousness, an articulation fanned by Romantic quests for harmony and wholesomeness and fueled by concrete revolutionary and reformist movements for freedom, equality, and democracy. Such quests and movements may result in aborted and authoritarian arrangements or be crushed by powerful capitalist powers. Yet the precious values of individuality and democracy that can guide and regulate such quests and movements sit at the center of Marx's own thought.

As we have discussed in previous columns, an historical weakness of Marxism has been its strong tendency to view all struggles for human liberation in terms of the economic struggle between the capitalists and the working class. Marxism demands that one give analytic priority to specific forms of struggle over others. However,

> for sophisticated Marxists, this does not mean that class explains every major event in the past or present, or that economic struggles supersede all others. It simply suggests that in capitalist societies, the dynamic processes of capital accumulation and commodification of labor condition social and cultural practices in an inescapable manner. How such practices are played out in various countries and regions for different races, classes, and genders in light of the fundamental capitalist processes will be determined in an experimental and empirical manner.

The high intellectual moments of Marxist theory - Marx's own historical and economic analyses, Georg Lukacs' theory of reification, and Antonio Gramsci's conceptions of hegemony - are those that bring together explanatory power, analytic flexibility, and a passion for social freedom. Yet certain crucial phenomena of the modern world - nationalism, racism, gender oppression, homophobia, ecological devastation - have not been adequately understood by Marxist theorists. My rejoinder simply is that these complex phenomena cannot be grasped, or changed, without the insights of Marxist theory, although we do need other theories to account for them fully.

. . . simply instituting a socialist economy is not enough, for there are other fundamental changes, such as overcoming the systematic oppression of women and of gay and lesbian people, which must simultaneously and independently be implemented.

Thus, in West's view Marxist theory is indispensable to the present struggle for human freedom:

> I am convinced that, despite its blindnesses and inadequacies - especially in regard to racism, patriarchy, homophobia, and ecological abuse - Marxist thought is an indispensable tradition for freedom fighters who focus on the fundamental issues of jobs, food, shelter, literacy, health and child care for all. One of the major ironies of our time is that Marxist thought becomes even more relevant after the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe than it was before. The explosion of capitalist market forces

(Continued next page.)

Greetings from the
Pacific Northwest Labor History Association
Ross K. Rieder, President
For information, call (206) 524-0346 or write
PO Box 75048, Seattle WA 98125

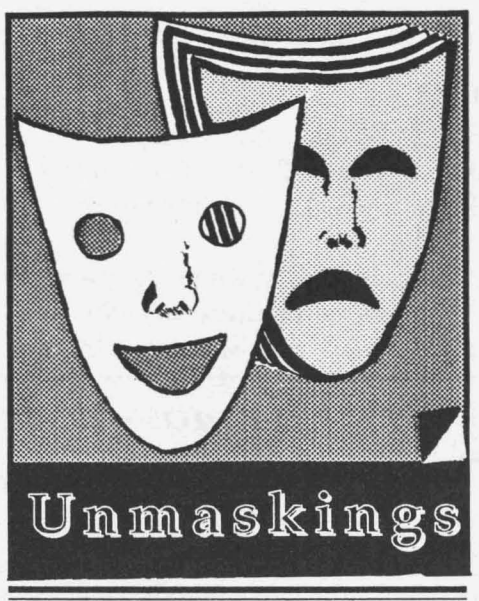
DAVIS INFORMATION SERVICES
Print / Electronic / Computer
Joel Davis
P.O. Box 735
Olympia, WA 98507-0735
(206) 866-2426

(A Christian View, Cont.)

on a global scale - concomitant with open class conflict, aggressive consumerism, rapacious individualism, xenophobic tribalism, and chauvinistic nationalism - makes Marxist thought an inescapable part of the intellectual weaponry for present-day freedom fighters.

The struggle for a decent society involves the replacement of capitalism by a democratic, socialist society controlled by people who work for a living (rather than by those who own for a living). However, simply instituting a socialist economy is not enough, for there are other fundamental changes, such as overcoming the systematic oppression of women and of gay and lesbian people, which must simultaneously and independently be implemented. We are all in this together, in this great quest for human freedom: Marxists and non-Marxists, faith-oriented people and those who are not. In a white supremacist society such as ours, leadership in all these struggles must necessarily come from people of color, and it is most fitting that Cornel West's views on appropriate tactics for progressive social change in the United States recieve our attention.

Dave regularly writes for Works In Progress and is a member of The National Coalition For Independent Political Action.



Free Trade In Humanity

Ron Jacobs

When I first moved to Washington state a little more than six years ago, I worked in a small electronics assembly plant. The pay was minimum wage ($3.35 at the time) but the plant was one of the few places in Shelton to work. Jobs with the Simpson lumber company were in a steady decline due in part to the diversification of the company's holdings and an accompanying de-emphasis on timber. Many of the workers at the assembly plant were women and young people who supplemented their partner's or parent's unemployment checks.

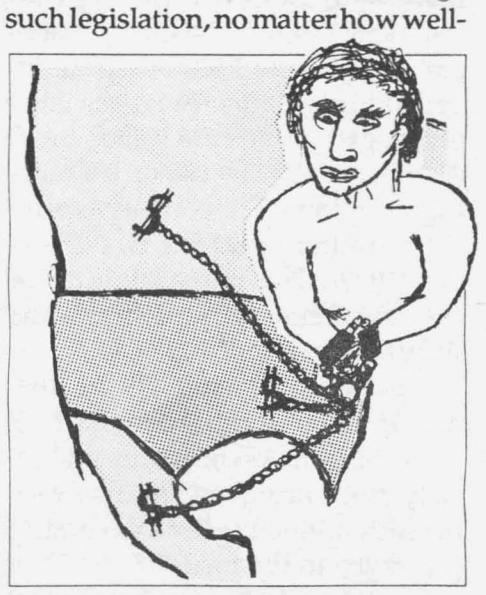
At the assembly plant we were expected to work fifty to sixty hours a week during busy periods, yet fear layoffs with less than a twenty-four hour warning when work was slow. The managers were pleasant enough, and they worked as many hours (or more) as us hourly-workers. At the home plant in Redmond, people did the same work for almost three times as much money. Most of the work, however, was done in Shelton. Obviously, the Shelton plant was opened in order to take advantage of a favorable labor situation. In other words, a depressed economy. Just like in Mexico, S. Korea, Central America, and dozens of other places dominated by transnational capital. Little did those of us working there at the time realize that our predicament would become not only more commonplace, but also federal law. Yet that is exactly what would happen if the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTRA) becomes law as it is now written.

. . . the only freedom encouraged by the North American Free Trade Agreement is the transnationals' freedom to exploit the people and lands of the hemisphere more than they do already.

NAFTRA is advertised as a treaty which encourages free and equal trade between the U.S. and its hemispheric neighbors. Such trade, goes the reasoning, will provide greater employment opportunities for everyone in the affected countries. In reality, the only freedom encouraged by NAFTRA is the transnationals' freedom to exploit the people and lands of the hemisphere more than they do already. The employment provided, if the transnationals have their way, would be at lower wages and with even less security than at present. The recent reduction of the Mexican government's minimum wage to less than four dollars a day is but one example of future policy if this anti-human treaty is accepted as is.. At the same time, the removal of government subsidies for foodstuffs and other necessities will make the prices of those items even less accessible to the average worker. Sure, there might be more jobs, but there will also be more poverty among those with jobs.

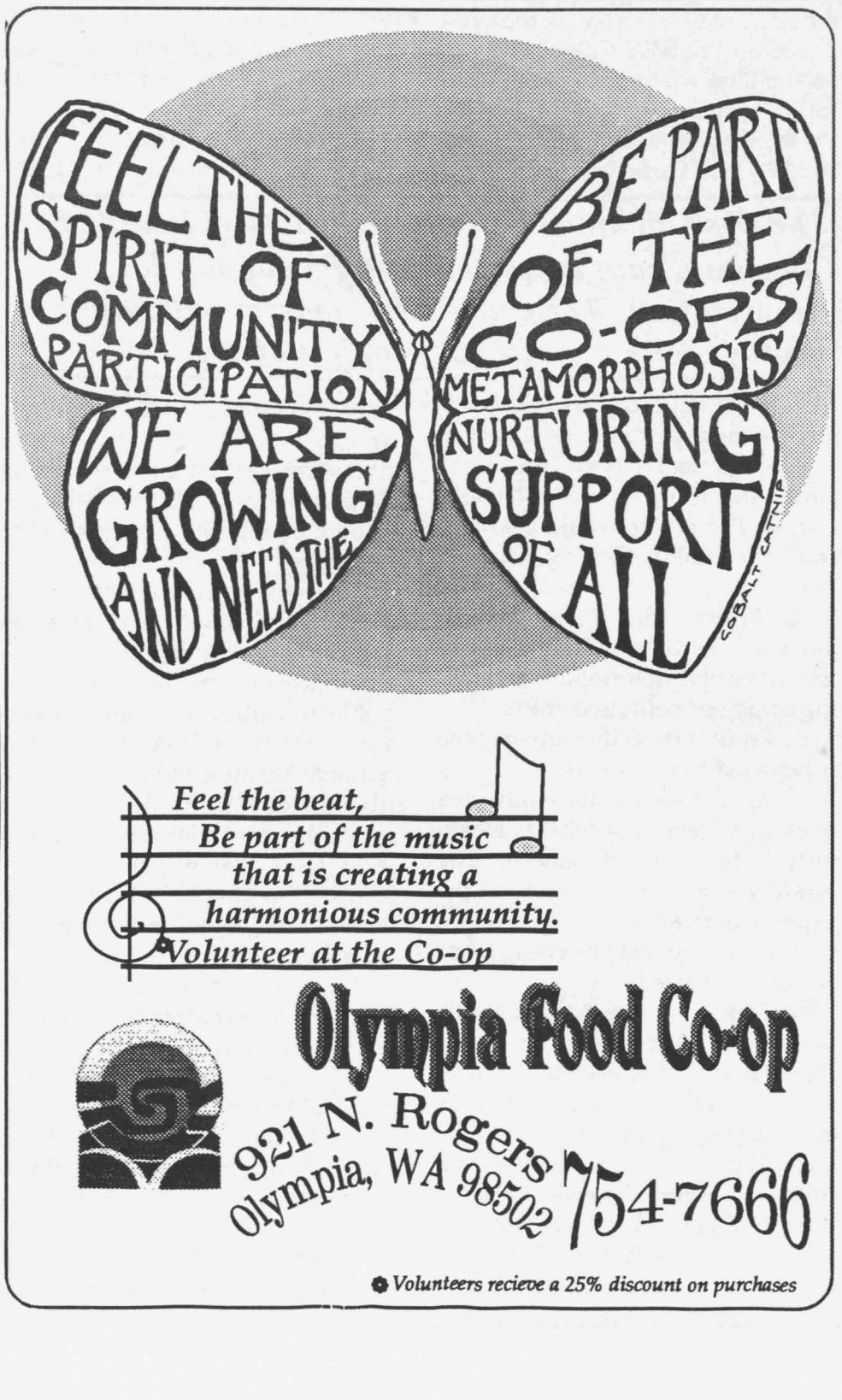
Ecologically speaking, situations like that of the Rio Grande — where untreated chemicals and sewage empty into the river from factories on the U.S.-Mexican border on its way through hundreds of miles to the Gulf of Mexico — could once again occur *legally* on the U.S. side of the border. The consequences of such practices, like birth defects and the spread of formerly eradicated diseases, could once again become commonplace in the U.S.. In addition, NAFTRA's current provisions would enhance the corporate demands to loosen environmental laws in the U.S.. Their reasoning would play on worker's fears of losing their jobs.

If we are to prevent the above scenarios from taking place, workers and others in the U.S. need to organize. Protectionism is not the answer, however. Those who urge such legislation, no matter how well-



meaning, are organizing against the wrong foe. Workers in other countries are not our enemies. The global designs of the transnational corporations are. In order to effectively oppose corporate treaties like NAFTRA, workers from all nations and jobs need to unite with environmental activists, the unemployed, and others left out of the transnationals' loop, and develop a movement whose only boundaries are defined by the desire for social justice for all.

Ron belongs to The Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace.

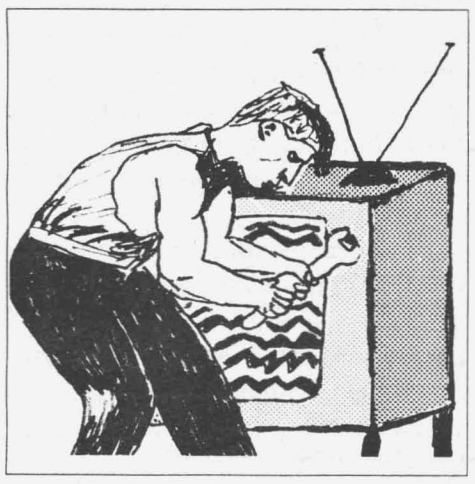


100 Million Working Stiffs Disappear

Labor issues ignored by corporate-owned media

Miles Harvey

When US coal miners went on strike against the Pittston Coal Group in 1989 - in one of the most



important American labor battles in decades - the national media paid scant attention. The three national television networks, for example gave the United Mine workers of America walkout a scant total of 22 minutes and 40 seconds over the course of nine months. But in nine *days* that same year, a strike by Soviet coal miners received almost twice the airtime - 37 minutes, 10 seconds - from the networks.

Why did the US media opt eagerly to cover a mine strike abroad while virtually ignoring one at home? That's exactly the question that plagued veteran labor reporter Jonathan Tasini. The media's non-coverage of the Pittston strike inspired him to launch a far-reaching investigation into the treatment of American labor by major US news organizations. The sometimes startling results appear in *Extra!* (Summer 1990), The publication of the media watchdog group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR).

Tasini's conclusion: "[T]he lives of 100 million working people - those who make the US economy and society run - are being routinely ignored, marginalized, or inaccurately portrayed in the media."

The study finds, for example, that in 1989 the three network evening news programs devoted a little more than 2 percent of their total airtime to workers' issues - and the vast majority of that coverage went to a single story, the Eastern Airlines strike. Business and economic reporting, on the other hand, received almost twice the time devoted to workers' issues. The investigation further revealed that most large- to medium-sized US newspapers no longer even field a reporter on the labor beat.

"Although reporting about working people and organized labor has declined since the early 1960s," writes Tasini, "the last 10 years have seen an accelerated drop. This trend coincides with the rapid pace of concentration of the media in few and fewer corporate hands."

In another *Extra!* story in the same issue, Norman Soloman and Martin A. Lee provide a graphic example of how major media organizations, as they become big businesses themselves, minimize coverage of labor unions: "As a reporter covering labor for the *Washington Post*, Peter Perl gained admittance to a $325-a-day seminar on how to bust up unions. He was surprised to find that out of 30 participants, 4 were vice presidents or managers of the newspaper he worked for. The founder of the firm running the anti-union seminars told Perl that the *Post* was 'a leader in this field.'"

"Needless to say," adds Tasini, "while most newspapers have a daily business section, none has a daily labor section."

But the corporate-owned media isn't the only offender. Another *Extra!* article explains how the Public Broadcasting Service resisted union funding of a drama about working people: "While corporations are free to finance pro-business shows like *Adam Smith's Money World*, Louis Rukeyser's *Wall $treet Week* and Milton Friedman's *Free to Choose*, labor contributions are another story."

But, as Holley Knauss reports in *Multinational Monitor* (Nov. 1990), the media may not be completely to blame for the lack of labor coverage. Knauss quoted veteran *In These Times* labor reporter David Moberg as saying that many union leaders, wary of reporters, may not be "upfront and aggressive" with journalists. "Often," writes Knaus, "they fail to create the type of excitement that attracts media attention."

"...while most newspapers have a daily business section, none has a daily labor section." [Tasini]

And creating excitement about its plight in the press is exactly what the labor movement needs to do, says Tasini, who is also president of the National Writers Union. "[I]t's time that workers embarked on coordinated national campaign to demand better media coverage of their issues," Tasini writes in *Solidarity* (Now. 1990), the magazine of the United Auto Workers.

"Dan Rather and his peers have been leaving America with the impression that it's greedy workers who are hurting America - not the Michael Milkens, Donald Trumps, and Frank Lorenzos with their junk-bond merger mania and savings and loans orgies," says Tasini. "It's time for the other side to be heard. It's time for workers to take back the truth."

This article appeared in the May/June issue of Utne Reader and is used with the permission of the author and the publisher. Write to: Utne Reader, Box 1974, Marion, OH 43305.

Don't Privatize Postal Service

Keith Mau

Something that we all take for granted, something that is as American as apple pie and Grandma is being threatened. That something is the U.S. Mail. The United States Postal Service and the sanctity of your mail is in the process of becoming privatized by a handful of multinational corporations with the aid of the Reagan/Bush administration. What that means is that public ownership of mail service will change hands into private ownership and control. This attempt to privatize the postal service is yet another attack by corporate America on American organized labor in its search for more profit.

It is a familiar story but the cast has changed. We've seen union busting and the use of scab labor with PATCO and U.S. Steel, phony bankruptcies with Continental and Eastern Air contract concessions and givebacks with Greyhound, union decertification attempts at Nordstrom. By reducing labor costs with the cutting of wages and the maximizing of part time employment without benefits, the rich get super rich and everyone else suffers.

The idea of privatizing the Postal Service comes from conservative Republican think tanks like the Cato Institute and the Heritage Foundation. It is important to understand the connection between the current government administration and privatization. The Board of Postal Governors is hand picked by the Reagan/Bush administration. This Board of Governors in turn chooses a Postmaster General who will go along with their way of thinking and agenda. The agenda of the rich getting richer, the agenda of corporate America. Currently, we have a Postmaster General, Anthony Frank, a former CEO of a Savings and Loan.

The Bush administration and the Postal Board of Governors have expressed outright support for privatization. They have a free market anti-union ideology with a profit not people motive. History has proven that when government agency functions get contracted out, deregulated or privatized, a disaster is ensuing. The deregulation of the airlines brought shoddy air travel, the HUD plan was a fiasco, the latest figure on the S&L bailout is up to $600 billion with the banking institution waiting to cave in. Is the Postal Service next on the chopping block? There are several main points that I would like to make to emphasize the social perils of privatization.

The Bush administration and the Postal Board of Governors have expressed outright support for privatization. They have a free market anti union ideology with a profit not people motive.

1. The mail service is a public communication that is relatively cheap. The public would lose control of this method of communication.

2. Privatization would weaken labor unions by contracting out to low wage non-union shops and taking away our collective voice.

3. Profit is the only motive of the private mailing industry.

A. This would undermine the quality and service of delivery where only a few would benefit. The wealthy would be catered to at the expense of the poor.

B. To keep cost low cheap labor would be utilized

4. Sanctity of the mail would be questioned. There could be a conflict of interest between the owners of these private mailing corporations and the people who utilize the service. (Would you feel comfortable utilizing a service that you were doing investigative reporting on.)

5. Lose preferred mailing status to non-profit organizations such as church groups, labor organizations, environmental groups, etc.

6. Uniform rates for universal delivery - a splintered postal system would greatly increase the cost of mail delivery in virtually all areas of the country, especially rural and inner city, (low income, high crime).

The mail service is the responsibility of government and the USPS performs an essential government function. How would you like to entrust your Grandmother's Social Security check or your mortgage payment to a company that only cares about making a buck?

Sarah Ryan, formerly of the APWU, in conjunction with the Rosalie Gittings Labor Center, wrote an excellent report about privatization titled *Organizing Postal Workers In The Private Sector.* The following two paragraphs are excerpts.

"Currently, union efforts against privatization have concentrated on attempts to secure protection through contracts, legislation and public mobilization. A drive to organize the work force of the multinational mailing industry companies into unions would help strengthen the union's position and may slow down privatization. Support in the postal and labor community would strengthen such a campaign.

If postal unions continue to lose workers to automation and contracting out it would be quite a blow to organized labor. Since one out of every 150 people in our country is a postal worker, with organized labor below 20%, it means that one in 30 unionists is a postal union member."

This is your government, *your* post office. Don't let them privatize it.

Lifelong Learning . . . And Acting

A commencement address by MaryRose Livingston

I'd like to dedicate this talk to Ron Smithrud, a fellow MES student who died this winter. He was a beautiful guy who walked gently on this planet - we wish he were here with us.

We're here to celebrate what we have *learned*. But as a student here and a former staff member of Evergreen's Labor Education and Research Center, I've found out more about what I don't know than what I know. So what I'd like to talk about is what we *have* to learn.

FIRST, WE HAVE TO LEARN THAT THE FACT WE'RE HERE TODAY ILLUSTRATES THAT WE LIVE INCREDIBLY PRIVILEGED LIVES.

It's an amazing thing that we have been able to spend the time devoting ourselves to thinking and reflecting on our world. Because we've spent so much time in a community of people doing the same things, we have to guard against believing that the rest of the world is organized in the same way. We need to understand that what we've had here has been something rich, but sometimes very disconnected from social and political reality. We need to establish a new, informed frame of reference.

WE HAVE TO LEARN TO RECOGNIZE THE SUBTLETY OF OUR PREJUDICES.

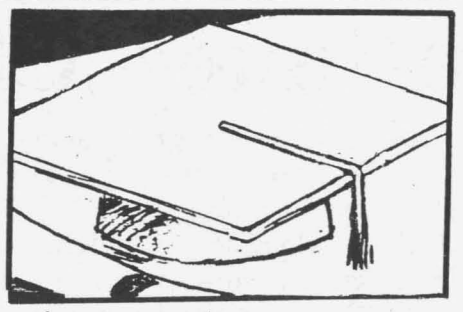
There is one speaker who isn't included in today's program: a representative of the Evergreen staff. Although it's the staff that make this college tick, and who work around the clock to put on Super Saturday and graduation, it was decided to cut the staff speaker in the interest of saving time. We have told them, then, that their labor is essential to us, but that we don't need to hear their voices.

WE HAVE TO LEARN TO DISTINGUISH TRUTH FROM LIES.

I've read too many times lately about the so called "tribal" violence in South Africa between supporters of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. These struggles have been bigger news than hundreds of years of white brutality. This kind of reporting suggests that the real trouble in South Africa is not apartheid, but so-called tribal factionalism. We need to expose those kind of lies.

WE NEED TO LEARN THE PRICE WE PAY FOR OUR POLITICAL DECISIONS.

We're emerging from a war in which 150,000 Iraqi people were killed, and irreparable damage was done to Iraq's social, political and ecological balance. This is not just the result of one man's political decision-making; this is the cost of war. It has and will cost *us* in terms of our national morality and long-term well being. Our country has based its economic and industrial infrastructure on weaponry. When we make guns, we use them. There is a direct connection between increased military spending and decreased spending for social programs. These are real, theoretically rational, political decisions. It's time to recognize that we give the nod to these actions when we fail to say "STOP"!



Pictured are: Helen Lee, Ellen Shortt, **Maryrose Livingston**, Alison Squier, Stepahanie Summers, Dan Leahy, Robert Olson, Peter Staddler, Peter Diaz.

WE HAVE TO LEARN TO CONCEIVE OF A JUST SOCIETY.

We live in a society that says democracy is only about the ability to participate in the marketplace. Corporate capital has told us (and we have believed) that there is no way to conceive of a society in which people can engage in meaningful work that also preserves our environment, our communities, and our local economies. Not only do we have to *know* that that is bunk, but we have to create an alternative vision for our world.

Corporate capital has told us (and we have believed) that there is no way to conceive of a society in which people can engage in meaningful work that also preserves our environment, our communities, and our local economies.

WE HAVE TO LEARN TO ACT UPON WHAT WE BELIEVE.

Because we have been afforded an extended opportunity to reflect and think, it therefore becomes incumbent upon us to act, and to act in an informed way. It's become commonplace for us to sit in front of a TV and watch atrocities, and not act. The very structure of watching TV has changed the way we engage injustice. I know it's an old idea, but get away from the television. Stop *watching* what is happening in the world, and start *acting* upon it.

WE HAVE TO LEARN TO ACT COLLECTIVELY, AND WITH A CLEAR SENSE OF OUR POLITICAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY.

Acts of individual initiative change the soul of a person; acts of collective initiative change the world. We need to do both. One helps us know ourselves, the other helps us shape our society. We have to organize our energy into some kind of compelling power. We have to form coalitions, and groups of coalitions that help each other materially and ideologically. We have to commit ourselves once again to civil disobedience, because when we raise the cost of maintaining unjust policies high enough, things change.

AND FINALLY, WE HAVE TO LEARN TO THINK IN OTHER CATEGORIES.

We need to use our imagination to create new social visions, new images, new ways of acting. We *have* to keep on learning.

Thank you.

MaryRose Livingston was the graduate student speaker at Evergreen's commencement ceremony on June 9, 1991. She was awarded a Master's Degree in Environmental Studies.

Mark Satin

NEW OPTIONS FOR AMERICA

The Second American Experiment Has Begun

Based on the prize-winning New Options Newsletter, the 25 essays in this book are vision rooted in practical reality. They replace the "rugged individual" of the First American Experiment with the "caring individuals" of the Second one and chart their course through the 90's and beyond.

"Mark Satin is, in my view, one of the most original and important journalists working today."
—Arthur S. Levine, Associate Editor, U.S. News and World Report.

251 pp.
$9.95 paper

California State University Press
Fresno, CA 93740

Keeping Democracy Alive And Well

On this 4th of July holiday, let's all pause and recognize our unions for embodying the democratic values we treasure so dearly.

Happy Independence Day!

Make your impact on the World.

Join the Washington Federation of State Employees Today!

AFSCME - Local 443 - AFL-CIO
PO Box 105 Olympia, WA 98507
Phone 357-9209
Mary Burbage, President

ACT-Up Continues Challenge

Zach Lyons

A major victory is being claimed by members of the AIDS activist group, ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power), in the fight for increased funding for AIDS services, and justice for lesbians and gays. Philip Morris Companies (PMC), the target of a year long boycott by ACT-UP, has agreed to double its corporate giving to AIDS causes, already reported to be in the millions of dollars.

The boycott targeted two of PMC's most visible brands, Marlboro cigarettes and Miller beer. ACT-UP chose to focus on PMC because of the companies long-term support of North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms. They hoped that by toppling the support of one of Helms' largest contributors during an election year, enough others would withdraw their support of Helms to cause him to lose his senate seat.

In fact, when Helms announced his re-election campaign in January of 1990, he referred to gays and lesbians as "disgusting people."

Helms has long been considered "public enemy number one" by many AIDS activists, and members of the Gay, Lesbian and arts communities. ACT-UP emphasizes that Helms' voting record in Congress shows he has consistently voted against funding and support for AIDS services, and against anti-discrimination measures that would protect gays and lesbians.

According to General Elections Commission reports, PMC is one of the largest corporate contributors to the Helms campaign. PMC argued simply that it is in the tobacco, food and beverage industry, and that Helms has been very supportive in Congress of PMC's business interests.

PMC is the largest packaged goods company in the world, with 1990 operating revenues running in excess of $50 billion. In addition to such mainstays of the tobacco industry as Marlboro and Merit cigarettes, PMC's product lines include Miller Brewing Company, Kraft/General Foods and Oscar Meyer Foods.

On April 26, 1990, ACT-UP/DC members held a press conference in front of PMC's Washington, DC offices to announce they were commencing a boycott of Marlboro cigarettes. PMC officials pointed to the company's past support of pro-gay and lesbian candidates and their donation to AIDS organizations.

The boycott spread to PMC's Miller brewing Company in June of 1990. But with the re-election of Helms in November of 1990, a new reality was cast over the boycott. It would be another six years, at the earliest, before Helms could be driven from the senate.

The agreement called for PMC to double its contributions to AIDS service organizations, as well as gay and lesbian groups. While it has been suggested by Michael Petrelis of ACT-UP/DC that the annual giving level of PMC would amount to about $3 million, officers of PMC continue to refuse to release the exact amount they intend to give, only stating that it will not be $3 million. Nevertheless, Petrelis called upon "ACT UP's local chapters and gays, lesbians, AIDS activists, their supporters and all fair-minded people everywhere to end the boycott of Philip Morris' products."

The agreement called for [Philip Morris Co.] to double its contributions to AIDS service organizations, as well as gay and lesbian groups.

But numerous chapters are hesitating to sign on to the agreement. According to Bruce Monroe of ACT-UP/Dallas, many chapters are expressing concern over the fact that PMC still has not put in writing the exact dollar amount that it is willing to commit to AIDS concerns and gay and lesbian issues. Another common concern is that no mechanism exists in the agreement to ensure that the funds distributed by PMC are done so equitably.

ACT-up is a decentralized organization, with independent and autonomous local chapters throughout the United States and Europe. There is no one chapter that issues orders for any other chapter, let alone all other chapters. In this case, ACT-UP/DC was encouraging the other chapters to follow their lead. But that is not happening as easily or as quickly as ACT-UP/DC had hoped or expected.

ACT-UP has a history of successful boycotts behind it, including boycotts of pharmaceutical giants Burroughs-Wellcome and Hoffman-LaRouche. In fact, the LaRouche boycott, which demanded that the company release its new AIDS drug to terminal AIDS patients, was successfully resolved on all points in two months, in early 1991.

No matter what agreement is ultimately settled upon between ACT-UP and the Philip Morris Companies, fair warning has been given to other supporters of Jesse Helms. According to Petrelis, ACT-UP is "ready to move on to scrutinizing the records of corporate contributions by RJR/Nabisco, Burlington Industries and others in hopes of extending this challenge again and again."

Contact ACT-UP and Philip Morris as follows:
Philip Morris Companies, Inc.
120 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10017.
1-800-343-0975
ACT UP/DC, PO Box 9318, Washington, DC 20005. 1-202-728-7530
This article was excerpted from the Boycott Monthly. For the complete story contact the Center for Economic Democracy at PO Box 64, Olympia, WA 98507. Used with permission.

The Love Connection

Matt Love

Once in a while it pays to read the Olympian. A few days ago I found one blowing across a parking lot. This seemed like as good of an opportunity as any to read one; the price was right. I gathered it up and took it home. Soon I was reading it, and experiencing the old familiar feelings of rage and frustration. However, I found an item that made me angry for an entirely different reasons. When Jolene Unsoeld filed her financial disclosure forms, she revealed that she owns between $50,00 and 100,000 in Exxon stock. I wonder how the many supporters of Ms. Unsoeld who believe themselves to be on a first name basis with her feel about this.

One could make the argument that by owning stock in a company you can influence company policy for the good. Most liberals find the argument for such a policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa (or for that matter, with Exxon itself on the part of the Washington State Investment Board) unpersuasive.

The point I'm trying to make isn't really that Unsoeld has feet of clay; everybody has human failings. I'm more concerned with the spectacle of knee-jerk liberals suddenly discovering that they are rock-ribbed libertarians on the gun issue, to conform to Unsoeld's position. Unsoeld's fundamental support of the status quo during the Panama invasion and the Persian Gulf massacre also went unchallenged. We can't be afraid to publicly criticize her ; we need to keep her responsive to her constituency. Otherwise, in the belief that Unsoeld has to be preferable to anybody else no matter what, how long will it be until we are tolerating knees of clay? Hips of clay? Torso of clay, etc. etc..

Proud to be an American,

Part 2

According to Harpers magazine, the top ten best selling children's' books of 1990 were:

1. Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles
2. Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles: The Final Lesson
3. Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles: The First Battle
4. New Kids on the Block
5. Mary Anne and Too Many Boys
6. Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles: The Movie Storybook
7. Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles: Six-Guns and Shurikens
8. Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles: Buried Treasure
9. Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles: Red Herrings
10. Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles: Sky High

However, a glimmer of hope; number eleven was "50 Simple Things Kids Can do to Save the Earth."

Another Crazy Leftist Conspiracy Theory

In the media in this country, facts are subordinate to ideological construction. This obviously is true of the alternative media; Works in Progress for example, unabashedly wears it's bias on it's sleeve. Yet somehow within the mainstream media, the myth of objectivity prevails. So when the alleged Reagan-Bush 1980 election steal continues to get headlines and electric media coverage, I ask why is this story, ignored for years, now allowed to emerge?

In the latest round of coverage, we find generous space given to witnesses who are wiling to pin everything on the late William Casey, who say that George Bush was "out of the loop." There are other witnesses, as credible as Iranian arms dealers, who put Bush at the heart of the action.

In National Public Radio coverage, they stated that this could open the way for Congressional investigations; Congress was reluctant to proceed if they felt they were likely to uncover any wrong deeds on Bush's part.

his actual roles in sneaky deals and dirty tricks were given careful scrutiny?

If there is a congressional investigation, expect another cover up similar to the Iran-Contra investigation. In this country, an oppositional congress and media is a myth.

Secret Agent Man

In the last issue of Works in Progress, I discussed my decision to try to learn if the FBI has any files on me. Encouragement from Frank Wilkinson (interviewed in this issue) prompted me to do this. I wrote a letter to the local FBI office according to Frank's instructions.

A few days later, I got a message on my answering machine from a man with a voice like a character out of a Mickey Spillane story. He didn't give his name or organizational affiliation. It didn't take me long to figure our what he was calling about.

"Mr. Love, we got your letter. There's a better way to go about this. Give us a call at 352-3234, and we'll talk it over."

I've called twice, and left messages, and have not heard back from them. I will report future developments when they occur.

War Crime Trials For Bush

Last issue I suggested there should be war crime trials for George Bush and his compatriots. In a more civilized society there would be more broad based support for this action.

The National Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East feels the same way. They have organized war crime tribunals in New York and want to sponsor more nationwide. The faint of heart please note this group is affiliated with the Maoist Workers World Party. Contact them at 36 East 12th NY, NY 10013.

DEADLINE DAY FOR WAR:
WHY NO "BUSINESS AS USUAL" AT THE CAPITOL BUILDING

Jackie Wolf

Of the people lucky enough to have a job in this country, most went to work on the morning of January 15, 1991; of those able, for whatever reasons, to attend a college or university, most went to their scheduled classes on time; basically, business as usual continued throughout the United States as our government prepared to flip on the death switch for tens of thousands of people half a world away, sending a clear and unmistakable message to dark-skinned people everywhere as the deadline for war fell on the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Not everyone in the country, however, carried on that day as if nothing horrible was about to happen. Throughout the nation, people engaged in a variety of actions trying to prevent event the war. In Olympia, Washington, thousands marched in the streets to the State Capitol Building, where later in the day, hundreds participated in what became a spontaneous occupation of the House Chambers, an action that has been the subject of much praise and much criticism. But first let's discuss the context in which all this occurred.

. . . assuming that most people by now know what the United States did to the Iraqi people and their country, can I then believe that the criticism of the hundreds of us who engaged in the spontaneous occupation of the House Chambers has turned to praise [?]

We have been told that most Americans (fewer blacks, however, than whites and fewer women than men) not only supported the war but actually believe they have something to celebrate, something of which to be proud, in the destruction of Iraq and the killing and wounding of hundreds of thousands of Arab people. In this most recent war, a war that was played as a giant video-game superbowl to the viewers and readers of American media, children were blown to bits and mutilated and burned by the tens of thousands; mothers lost their children and their homes and neighborhoods; people lost all of their families and their health care clinics and hospitals and schools and their water and electricity; there is an entire country grieving and dying still, at the mercy of another country whose people by the millions watched and prayed and grieved at their television sets a few years ago for one little blonde girl stuck in a well in Texas. I am glad, really I am, that little Jessica was rescued. Throughout the ordeal, we saw and felt the fear and anguish of her family, praying with them in the White House and in newsrooms across the nation. Our country celebrated her rescue. The media told us we loved her, so we did. In contrast, we never saw the burned faces or torn bodies of Iraqi children. We were never told how precious these children were to their grieving families or how their mothers were killed trying to shield their babies from the bombs. It is common knowledge, discussed on news talk shows and written quite freely, that the Bush Administration knew not to let us over here in the land of the free press see the reality of the war on the ground in Iraq. Apparently, Bush and the boys were concerned about what kind of trouble we anti-war types might make if a lot of people over here felt sickened and guilty about what our government was doing, in our names and with our money.

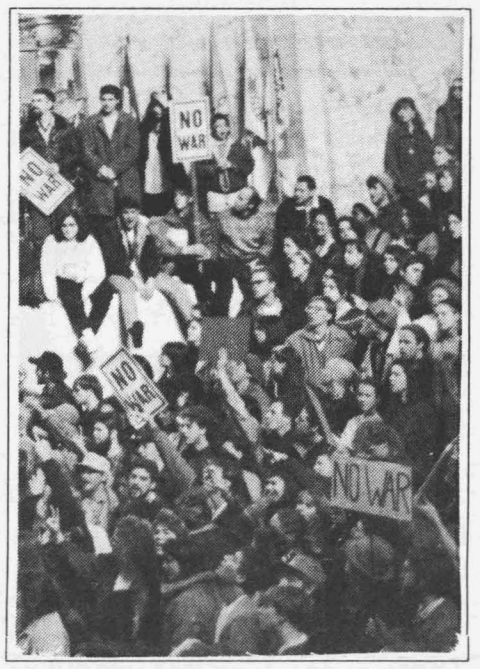
They were so successful with their war propaganda and pentagon advertisements masquerading as news reports that after forty days and forty nights of killing and mass destruction throughout Iraq, they could show us color pictures on televisions and in newspapers of totally-bombed-out highways with pieces of bodies flung throughout the wreckage. And they could be certain that our response would be to wrap ourselves up in even bigger flags and tie up everything in sight with yellow ribbons. We were told how proud we are of the hotshot bomber pilots from Whidbey Island, the flyboy graduates of elite academies, "heroes" who joked about the "sitting ducks" down there on the ground below, miles and miles of vehicles going nowhere, desperate and terrified human beings massacred by the hundreds in a traffic jam created as they tried to flee the bombing. .

If I was to imagine that people knew in advance the magnitude of the war, its reality to the people in the Middle East and its significance to people everywhere who dream of living free of imperialist intervention and control, could I then believe that more people would have dared a bit more in trying to stop the war before it started? That maybe people wouldn't have been so polite if they had fully understood what this government will do to advance its interests? And assuming that most people by now know what the United States did to the Iraqi people and their country, can I then believe that the criticism of the hundreds of us who engaged in the spontaneous occupation of the House Chambers has turned to praise, and that finally has come the recognition that we were doing everything within our power to avert the war and that we did it non-violently, not silently but non-violently, with no property destruction and nothing and no one harmed?

I'm not sure, even, if that is anything to be proud of. Our government is either doing the killing or paying for the killing of most of the people on this planet. It seems to me that we are obliged to stop them. And to those who were elected by somebody and theoretically represent us, I believe we must make known our refusal to cooperate with or be complicit in the actions they take in our name. Most of us had done for months, some of us for years, what our critics have said we should have done instead of taking over a large and empty room in a government building: we wrote letters and visited our congresspeople; we collected signatures on petitions by the thousands; we organized rallies and marches and demonstrations; we wrote articles and called the White House and the State Department and our senators; some of us quit our jobs or interrupted our education to organize against the impending war.

It was within this context that many of us, on the last day of the countdown to war, found ourselves in the House Chambers, in the company of others who felt the same fear and outrage as ourselves. I remember thinking that day, as I looked around at the variety of people in the room, that if things like this were happening all across the country, we could still possibly stop the war.

As it turned out, the occupation of the House Chambers in Olympia was the only occupation of a government building in the country prior to the war. The national media reported our actions, and I've been told that we served as inspiration for anti-war protestors all over the world. To those who would accuse us of "playing to the media", I would say of course. What other mechanism do we have to get our voices heard? What other action could we have taken that day to get the attention of our governmental representatives, to let them know how deeply and absolutely we were opposed to Bush's policy of using



military might to impose their New World Order?

It is true that we did not stop the war, but I am proud that we tried, that we did everything short of launching an attack on the pentagon or running through the streets smashing the windows of government buildings, which leads to my final question. Now that we all know to what lengths they will go, how much suffering are we of this country willing to have imposed in our name before we will take whatever action is necessary to put an end to it? Are we going to continue to politely ask them not to do it anymore as long as they are not doing it to white people in the USA? Imagine how different it could have been if people across the country had done what we did in Olympia. I believe when enough of us get together in this country and build a movement that will change their business as usual, through leftist rhetoric and liberal reform, they will have no choice but to get out of the business of killing.

Jackie is a active member of the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace.

THE WILD SIDE
a nature store
209 FIFTH AVENUE EAST
OLYMPIA, WA 98501
754-8666

Happy Third Anniversary
THOUSAND CRANES FUTONS
109 N. Washington
Olympia
Washington 98501
206.357.8464

Socialism from Socially-Created Values

Marvin Saillard

Communism has failed in the USSR. **Capitalism** in the United States is driving a wedge between the rich and the poor with land-price inflation which enriches owners of valuable land and makes living too expensive for the wage earners. **Socialism** destroys the incentive to be productive because it tries to socialize privately-created values of earned incomes and man-made products, through taxation.

In our approach to socialism we should *privatize the privately-created values* of earned incomes, private property in man-made products, and private enterprise. We should *socialize the socially-created value* of the rental-value of land.

Land has rental-value (use-value) because of the presence and activity of all the people in the community, state, and nation. The use-value of land is greatly enhanced because the community government has provided tax-financed streets, sewer systems, water systems, schools, police protection, and fire protection. The rental-value of land, and its capitalized value, selling price, is further enhanced by state and federal tax-financed expenditures for highways, expressways, interstates, etc.

By *socializing the rent-of-land* the private landowners will be *encouraged* to make efficient use of their land, and will be *discouraged* from land speculation which causes land-price inflation. When we collect the rent-of-land as public revenue (socialize the rent-of-land), we will prevent land speculation and land-price inflation. When developers do not have to go to the urban fringes and rural areas to find affordable land for development, we will do away with urban sprawl, and we will reduce the cost of providing community services and their necessary infrastructure.

When we untax *all privately-created values, and draw all of our public revenue from the socially-created value of the rent-of-land*, we will maximize the incentive to make efficient use of our land. There are only three factors of production on consumer goods and services. They are Land, Labor, and Capital. Land is provided by Mother Nature, and Labor and Capital are provided by people. Land cannot use itself, so efficient use of land creates a demand for Labor **and** Capital.

U.S. Representative Dan Rostenkowski, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, states that "Increasing the tax on any item generally raises its price and, to some extent, depresses sales. His statement is true of *all taxes on privately-created values* which come under the taxing jurisdiction of local government. This statement is not true of the local property tax on the value of the Land, which is a *socially-created value.*

In the State of Washington, we are prevented from properly *taxing the socially-created value of rent-of-land*, and from *untaxing the privately-created values of homes and improvements* because the State Constitution requires land and building to be taxed at the same rate.

The jobs of our legislators would be so much easier if public revenue (taxes) were drawn only from the socially-created rental-value of land because the tax base grows as the need for public revenue grows. As population grows, the need for public revenue grows, and the rental-value of land grows along with it. Landowners cannot move their land to avoid paying the tax. The tax would be determined by the use-value of the land without any inflation to make it too expensive for the land-user.

The legislators' jobs would be much easier because the untaxing of private enterprise and private property in products would cause lower prices and increased sales. This style of tax rebate would give the economy a boost and prevent a lot of economic and social problems that cause constituents to bother their legislators about.

Their legislative tasks would be so much simpler if land-price inflation were not making jobs unavailable, homes unaffordable, and poverty more prevalent for their constituents.

When landowners could only make money by making efficient use of their land, there would be a great demand for Labor and Capital. There would be jobs and prosperity in every community where the rent-of-land was collected as public revenue, and all Labor and Capital were untaxed.

Landowners can only make an unearned income when there is a net-rent-of-land-after-taxes for them to pocket after charging someone else for permission to use their land. Since the net-rent represents an unearned income, it can be capitalized into a selling price for the land. That selling price can represent a large unearned profit when there is land-price inflation due to inefficient use of valuable land. When valuable land is underdeveloped and held off the market waiting for higher selling prices, there are fewer jobs and lower wages. Landowners with and unearned income due to land-price inflation can afford to financially support the campaigns of legislators who make no effort to reduce or eliminate land-price inflation.

Untaxing productive people, and taxing the rent-of-land which results from people and government spending money in the community, will give everyone a chance to make an earned income, and eliminate unearned incomes resulting from land-price inflation, and from failure to collect the rent-of-land as public revenue. We would have a healthy economy if everyone who was productive were untaxed, and everyone who was unproductive had their unearned income taxed away to finance the public expenditures which make the land more valuable to land-users.

Let us tax the profit-motive in such a way that people will be encouraged to produce, and to use land efficiently. Let us *privatize privately-created values*, and *socialize socially-created values*. We must demand that the legislators make things easier for themselves, and for everyone else, by amending the State Constitution to allow land values to be taxed at a higher rate and allow homes and improvements and businesses to be untaxed.

Henry George wrote the book, *Progress and Poverty*, in 1879 to explain clearly and convincingly why poverty always exists in the shadow of every industrialized nation, and is an inevitable consequence when land ownership is monopolized by a few rich people.

I am a member of the Washington State Georgist Association which has its office at 995 State Hwy 507, Centralia, Washington 98531, Hamlet Hilpert, President, 206-736-3639,

Yours for taxing Social values only,
Marvin Saillard
1111 Archwood Drive, SW Lot 290
Olympia, WA 98502
206-956-3245

Land cannot use itself, so efficient use of land creates a demand for Labor and Capital.

(Free Trade, continued)

ditions.

But, the nation-state?

What is happening when our state legislature doesn't complete its budget until the day before the new fiscal year begins?

What is happening when teachers demand a serious look into public education and a Boeing corporate lobbyist cancels government?

What is happening when corporate executives demand that our teachers play "follow the cursor" with our kids and pass it off as education?

If we lose our little nation state here in Washington with all its populist heritage and institutions, we'll lose our ability to have any control over what's going on here at home, let alone in Canada and Mexico.

The first round of talks to be held in the United States on a Canada, U.S., Mexico Free trade agreement are scheduled to begin in Seattle on August 20th. The Seattle PI article was entitled, "Seattle lands a plum."

For all those in Seattle who will profit from transferring Canadian natural resources for processing by a cheap labor supply in Mexico maybe these talks will be a "plum." No doubt the Roundtable boys and King George will be there looking for both.

For me, these talks are one more plank in the "new world order." Capital is regrouping along continental lines with the wage slaves of Mexico as their guiding light.

I'm going to keep in touch with the Canadians, establish contacts with anti-free trade groups in Mexico and keep thinking about the nation state.

Dan Leahy works at the Labor Center at The Evergreen State College.

Referendum 46:

You Can Vote On Elected Officials' Salaries

Is it FAIR for them to receive 20%, 30%, or up to 54% in 2-year pay raises, when THEY say there's not enough money for education, social services, and the other needs of our people?

Is it FAIR for them to cut state employee health benefits, and keep 25,000 underpaid 20-30% according to their own salary study?

Is it FAIR for you to scrape by paycheck to paycheck; that lawmakers should not suffer along with everyone else?

Say **NO** to their mega pay raises.
It's a matter of **FAIRNESS.**

Contact us to support and sign Referendum 46.

Washington Public Employees Association
124 10th Ave SW • Olympia WA 98501 • (206) 943-1121